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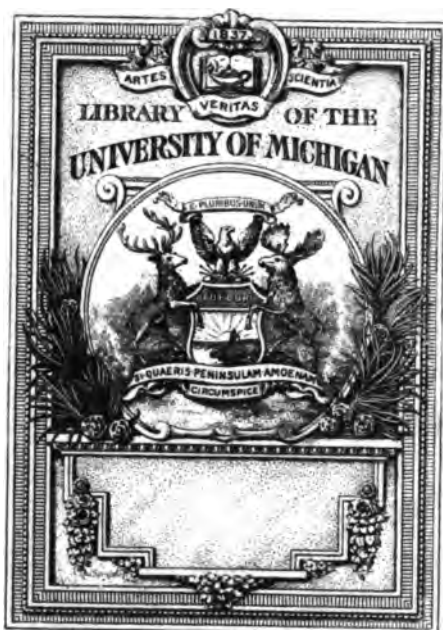
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THE HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
IN THE 62842
COLONIES AND FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

BY THE REV.

JAMES S. M. ANDERSON, M.A.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN,
CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,
PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, BRIGHTON,
AND PREACHER OF LINCOLN'S INN.

VOL. II.

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TO THE MOST REVEREND
JOHN BIRD,
BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,
THE SECOND VOLUME OF THIS WORK,
BEGUN UNDER THE SANCTION OF
HIS REVERED PREDECESSOR,
IS,
BY PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE,
MOST RESPECTFULLY AND DUTIFULLY
INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E.

THE publication of this Volume has been delayed by causes which I could neither foresee nor control; and it is only left for me to hope, that, if God so will, the remainder of the work may be completed with greater expedition.

It has been found impossible to bring down the history in this Volume beyond the end of William the Third's reign; a period, which falls far short of that which I had once hoped to reach. But a careful survey of the ground which has been here traversed, will show, I trust, that I have not tarried too long by the way. The religious and political divisions of England in the seventeenth century,—the effects of which are felt by her to this very hour,—operated, directly and palpably, in every quarter of the globe, to which the knowledge of her name was extended, during that period; and the difficulties, which her Colonial Church had, at the same

time, to encounter, would have been very imperfectly represented, had not their relation with events at home been distinctly pointed out.

It would, doubtless, have been much easier for me to have refrained from describing this relation, and to have directed attention only to the local circumstances of each Settlement. But, the medley of incongruous details, thus presented to the view, would have been most perplexing; and the lessons arising from the contemplation of them, which it is the office of all history to teach, would have been thereby weakened or lost. In the attempt here made to recognize and enforce those lessons, I have found a new interest imparted to some of the most familiar incidents recorded in our national annals, and an explanation supplied of the state of affairs in our different Colonies, which it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain by any other means. If the reader should feel the like interest, or be led to admit the like results, it will be my best recompense for the labour which has attended the enquiry.

The number of subjects which it has been necessary to comprise in the present Volume, has compelled me to advert to some of them very briefly, and to defer their fuller description to a later period. For the same reason, I have abstained altogether from introducing an account, which I had prepared, of the Roman Catholic Missions; and intend to give it hereafter.

In addition to those persons, whose help has been acknowledged in the Preface to the First Volume, I beg to express, upon the present occasion, my thanks to J. P. Mayers, Esq., Q. C., of the Middle Temple; Edward S. Byam, Esq.; J. H. Darrell, Esq., Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Bermudas; and John D. Dickinson, Esq., Deputy Secretary of the East India Company, for important information, most kindly communicated to me by them, on points connected with the West Indies, the Bermudas, and India. I gratefully acknowledge, also, the words of cheering encouragement which have reached me from Virginia; and trust that they may be regarded as an earnest of the help, which I am most anxious to receive from all who, in different quarters of the globe, may be disposed to aid me with their information and counsel.

Brighton,
October 16, 1848.

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ERRATA.

- Page 52, line 7, *for of, read in respect to.*
- 61, insert in margin the words, "Laud executed."
 - 91, note 18, *for Buck, read Burk.*
 - 104, line 14, insert "alleged" before "spiritual."
 - 132, line 10, *for Viginia, read Virginia.*
 - 275, note 122, *for No. I. read No. II.*
 - 331, line 17, *for words, read woods.*
 - 400, note 110, *for Hazard, iii. read Hazard ii.*
 - 403, line 12, *for Sturyvessant, read Stuyvesant.*
 - 404, in contents of chap. xvii., after "India," insert "The first English Church built at Madras."
 - 491, line 19, *for These, read The.*
 - 536, in contents of chap. xviii., after "Yeo," insert "The proprietary government abolished;" and transpose "Petition of the Clergy for a Bishop" to end of the notices of Maryland.
 - 623, line 15, *for Marston, read Marton.*

THE HISTORY,

&c.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES THE FIRST.

A. D. 1625—1648-9.

Reasons for reviewing the history of the Church, under Charles the First—The King's difficulties—Short duration of the three first Parliaments—None convened for eleven years afterwards—Evil results thereof—Aggravated by the policy pursued towards the Church of Rome—And by the share, given to the Church of England, in the obnoxious counsels of the Crown—The elevation of Montague and others—The Arminian and Sabbatarian controversies—Suppression of Feoffees—Severities against Leighton, Prynne, and others—Forced emigration to New England—Its prohibition—Intention of sending a Bishop to New England—Strafford's administration in Ireland—Troubles in Scotland—Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over English congregations abroad, and over the English Colonies—The Covenanters—Parliament convened, and dissolved—Canons of 1640—The Long Parliament—Impeachment of Strafford and Laud—Execution of Strafford—Act for the indefinite prolongation of Parliament—Abolition of the High Commission Court and Star Chamber—Aggressions of Parliament—Civil War begins—Assembly of Divines—Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians—The Solemn League and Covenant subscribed by the English Parliament—Sufferings of the Clergy—Description of their persecutors—The Directory—Laud executed—His character—Sequel of the Civil War—Execution of the King.

THE history of England, under Charles the First, reveals a fearful picture of strife, oppression, and

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Reasons for
reviewing

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the history
of the
Church,
under
Charles the
First.

ruin. The destroying elements were at work, from the very outset of his reign ; and nothing less than the overthrow of our whole civil and ecclesiastical polity was effected ere its close. But the trials of England, at this period, became also the trials of her Colonies. It is evident, therefore, that any enquiry into the position of the National Church in those Colonies must be imperfect, which does not first take notice of events, which so directly influenced her destiny at home ; and, to some of the most important of these, the attention of the reader is now briefly to be directed.

The King's
difficulties.

The King was young and inexperienced ; tenacious of what he had been taught to regard as the prerogatives of the Crown ; but, ignorant, and therefore unmindful, of the not less inalienable rights of the people. His minister, the Duke of Buckingham, accounted frank and generous by his friends, was yet hated by the many more whom his rapid rise to royal favour had made his enemies ; and his profligacy, arrogance, ambition, added, daily, fresh fuel to the displeasure that was kindled against him. The exchequer, also, was empty : and, to the debts, contracted by the personal expenses of the late King, and by the war which the whole country had urged him to undertake, towards the end of his reign, for the relief of the Palatinate, were now to be added others which Charles brought with him upon his accession to the throne, and the costs of those needless, and unsuccessful, hostilities with Spain and France, in which he was soon afterwards engaged.

From such difficulties, the Commons of England were slow to extricate their King. Their first care was to maintain their own liberties, and to ward off the encroachments, which they suspected were about to be made upon them: and, therefore, only with reluctance, and under conditions, and in scant measure, did they grant the subsidies required for the public service. Hence, Parliaments, convened to relieve the King's necessities, were dissolved, with aggravated feelings of distrust and anger upon both sides; and, at length, after the dissolution of the third Parliament, in 1629,—the fourth year of Charles's reign,—the fatal resolution was adopted by him, to govern, for the future, without the intervention of that branch of the legislature. The memorable Petition of Right, indeed, which, before that event, he had been forced to receive, survived to bear constant witness against this violation of the law; and, in the end, submission was rendered to its enactments. Nevertheless, for eleven successive years, the sole prerogative of the Crown usurped the place of every other.

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Short duration of the three first Parliaments.

None convened for eleven years afterwards.

The first evil consequence of this state of things was the continued system of illegal expedients which, before that period, had been resorted to, for the purpose of raising money:—namely, the exaction of benevolences and forced loans; the levying of duties on exports and imports, (called tonnage and poundage;) the revival of the forest laws, by which separate fines and rents were imposed upon persons of

Evil results thereof.

rank and wealth; and, above all, the memorable tax of ship-money.

It is no sufficient vindication of such proceedings, to say that many of them were pronounced, by the legal authorities of that day, to have been the just exercise of the kingly power; for the sophistry with which arguments in support of their decisions were maintained, and the tyranny with which they were enforced, have affixed to the names of the men associated with them a stigma which no time can obliterate¹. Still less can they be justified, by reference to the prosperous condition of the kingdom, which, according to some writers, is said to have marked that same period. Clarendon, for instance, states, that it was a time, in which this nation 'enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long a time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom².' Hume likewise describes, in terms not less favourable, the great happiness which then prevailed³. But it is impossible to admit the correctness of these statements, either as it regards the matter of fact upon which they are supposed to rest, or the conclusion which men may easily be tempted to draw from them, namely, the wisdom of acquiescing in

¹ It must not be forgotten, however, that there were several occasions on which the judges manifested a nobler sense of duty. Halham has enumerated several striking examples of this, in his Consti-

tutional History, ii. 10—12.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, i. 131.

³ See the beginning of his fifty-third chapter.

the expediency of measures which led to such fortunate results. The end, even where it is successful, cannot justify the use of means, in themselves unlawful; and, in the present instance, the end was, and could not fail to be, disastrous evil. Let Clarendon himself be our witness. Speaking of one part of the policy pursued by the King's government, at that time, he distinctly states, that it 'afflicted many good men,' and 'encouraged ill men to all boldness and licence;' that 'supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws;' and 'unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profit to other men.' Again, he states, that, in order to gain the ends intended by other parts of the same policy, 'the Council-table and Star Chamber enlarged their jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding" (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) "for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;"' that 'the same persons, in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury; the Council-table, by proclamations enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star Chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to these proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment: so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which

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men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed;’ that, especially, with respect to the case of ship-money, ‘sworn judges of the law adjudged’ that tax to be lawful ‘upon such grounds and reasons, as every stander-by was able to swear was not law;’ and that men, ‘instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own;’ and that, finally, all respect for the persons of those who administered the laws was by such acts of corruption and oppression destroyed, and with it all ‘dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves’⁴.

It is impossible to believe, therefore, in the face of such testimony, that any thing, which really deserved the name of prosperity, could have been enjoyed by the nation at this time. The semblance of it, there may have been; but, nothing more. The fabric, however beautiful, rested only upon the sand; and the mutterings of the storm were already heard, which came, and beat upon it, and cast it down.

Aggravated
by the policy
pursued to-
wards the
Church of
Rome.

It was not only in those quarters of the horizon to which attention has just been directed, that the elements of strife were collected, and ready to break forth. Upon every side, men’s minds were disturbed by cries of alarm. Among the loudest and most vehement of these, was the clamour, which the Puritans were the most forward in urging, against the policy of the English court towards the Church of

⁴ Clarendon, i. 118—124.

Rome. The extreme hatred and dread of Rome, for which they were ever conspicuous, had been excited, in the first instance, by the proceedings connected with the intended marriage of Charles, during his father's reign, with the Infanta of Spain; and, afterwards, by those which marked his actual marriage with Henrietta Maria of France;—each of the princesses being in communion with the Romish Church. Those proceedings had, certainly, a tendency to excite mistrust and jealousy in the public mind; and such feelings were soon stimulated into quicker action by the extraordinary degree of favour, which, —in spite of penal laws contained in the statute-book, and of the King's repeated promises to observe those laws,—was shown towards many of the same communion⁵. Had such favour, indeed, been the result of a sincere desire to mitigate the rigour which, then, and for many years afterwards, characterized our penal laws; had it been a step, taken only in the direction of a purely merciful and beneficent purpose, to prepare the minds of the English people for the abolition of such severities; the record of it might be gratefully acknowledged, in our own day, as a beam of gentle light, breaking in through the darkness of that intolerant age; and little sympathy could be awakened in behalf of those who then lifted up the voice of an indignant and resolute remonstrance against its exercise. But, when the favour, thus lavished, in

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⁵ Harris's *Life of Charles the* *tory of the British Empire*, ii. 48, First, 198—206. Brodie's *His-* 51, 137.

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defiance of promises and laws, upon one party,—and that, too, a party, which had not abated one jot of those extravagant and unrighteous pretensions, whereby they claimed to be ‘supreme over all nations and kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, to destroy, to build, and to plant⁶’—was denied to well nigh every other, it can excite no astonishment that men should have become exasperated, and that the abettors of such gross partiality should have been regarded with hatred and suspicion.

The influence of this unjust policy was not confined to England. The plantation of a most important Colony in North America, during the present reign, by a Roman Catholic proprietor, who went forth invested with the amplest powers which the King’s charter could confer upon him, was one of its direct and palpable results; and the reader will see, in the next chapter, how many and great difficulties were thrown, by this single cause, in the way of the Church of England, when she sought soon afterwards to extend, as she was bound to do, her ministrations to the same province.

And by the share, given to the Church of England, in the obnoxious counsels of the Crown.

But the circumstances which have been adverted to speedily threw the Church at home into great peril. The direct and avowed share, taken by her in many of the most obnoxious counsels of the Crown, made it impossible for her to escape the just odium which was attached to them. The assistance, which she gave in promoting the forced laws already spoken

⁶ These words occur in the bull, against Elizabeth in 1556. See issued by Pope Pius the Fifth Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

of, may be cited as one instance of this. The authority for performing that service, was derived from a letter, drawn up in the second year of Charles's reign, Sept. 21, 1626, by Laud, at that time Bishop of Bath and Wells, and issued by the King to the Archbishops of both provinces⁷. The promptitude with which Laud drew up these instructions, was a painful indication of his proneness to forget the true liberties of the Church and nation, in his desire to gratify the King; and the manner, in which some of the Clergy urged their appeal, served but to incite the people to a more sturdy resistance against it. The doctrine laid down, for example, by Sibthorp, in his memorable Assize Sermon at Northampton, in the following year, is described by Collier to have been such as showed 'the preacher was very defective, either in his honesty or understanding;' and, if 'pursued through its consequences, would make Magna Charta, and the other laws for securing property, signify little⁸.' Archbishop Abbot refused, very properly, to give his licence for the publication of a Sermon, which contained such erroneous teaching. And, that Abbot should have been suspended, for a time, from the functions of his high office, on account of this refusal⁹; that Laud should have

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⁷ Collier's Ecclesiastical History, viii. 18; also Heylyn's Life of Laud, 161—165, where the letter is given at length. Not the least painful part of this passage in Heylyn's narrative is the tone of levity and indifference with which he speaks of the whole measure, and of Laud's share in it.

⁸ Ibid. p. 20.

⁹ The instrument setting forth the Archbishop's suspension is given by Collier, viii. 21—24; and, although no specific reference is made therein to Sibthorp's Sermon, yet it is evident, from Abbot's own narrative in Rushworth's Historical Collection, i. 438—461,

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rendered any assistance in preparing the objectionable Sermon for the licence which it received, soon afterwards, from Montaigne, Bishop of London¹⁰; and that Sibthorp himself should have been preferred, in consequence, to a higher station in the Church¹¹; are facts, to which the annals of that time distinctly bear witness, and which overwhelm the mind with astonishment and sorrow.

The elevation of Montague and others.

The consecration of Montague, about the same time, to the See of Chichester, was taken as another evidence of the ability and desire, on the part of the Church, to promote the arbitrary counsels of which the country complained. Montague had already so far irritated the public mind by his writings, as to have caused the most painful discussions and proceedings, in the first and second Parliaments, during this reign¹². Yet, in August, 1628,—soon after the prorogation of the third Parliament, and at the time of Laud's translation, from the See of Bath and Wells, to that of London—Montague was chosen a

- Bishop of the Church¹³. True the sentence, pronounced against him by the Commons, had been an assumption of power far beyond the line of their jurisdiction, and proved, that, in the hearts of the loudest professors of liberty, a spirit of fierce and oppressive tyranny was at work. But, to inflame that spirit, yet further, by promoting the man, who, by his writings, had stirred it into action, was neither wise

that his refusal to licence it was the real cause of his suspension.

¹⁰ Collier, viii. 20, 21. Heylyn's Life of Laud, 167.

¹¹ Neal's History of the Puritans, i. 513.

¹² Collier, viii. 2, and 10—13.

¹³ Ibid. p. 35.

nor just. The suppression of Montague's book, 'Appello Cæsarem,' by a royal edict, and the acknowledgment made therein, 'that this book has been the first occasion of those disputes and differences which had disturbed the repose of the Church'¹⁴, are at once a proof of the offence committed by him, and a condemnation of the favour bestowed upon him.

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The appointment also of Mainwaring to the same high office in the Church, was an instance of similar infatuation. He had made himself notorious by the advancement of opinions, even more extravagant and dangerous than those proclaimed by Sibthorp; saying, for instance, 'that the king is not bound to preserve the subjects in their legal rights and liberties; that his royal will and absolute command in imposing loans and taxes, though without the consent of the Parliament, ought to be obeyed by the subject under the pain of eternal damnation; that those who refused to comply with this loan transgressed the law of God, insulted the King's supreme authority, and incurred the guilt of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion'¹⁵. So outrageous were the positions put forth in this Sermon, that the King issued a proclamation for its suppression, about the same time that Montague's book was called in¹⁶. The House

¹⁴ Collier, viii. 39. A remarkable entry occurs in Laud's Diary, January 29, 1625-6, after he had been reading Montague's book, in which he says, 'Methinks I see a

cloud arising and threatening the Church of England. God of his mercy, dissipate it!

¹⁵ Collier, viii. 28.

¹⁶ Ibid. 39.

of Lords had imposed a fine upon the writer; and pronounced him incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office. He had himself made public acknowledgment of the justice of his sentence, at the bar of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding all which, he was consecrated, in the year 1635, Bishop of St. David's¹⁷.

Truly, this must be admitted to have been, as Collier himself acknowledges, 'no serviceable conduct,' making 'the Parliament more warm at their next meeting, and the King lose ground in the affection of his subjects.' And, if such be the language of a historian, who, it is well known, would not expose to needless censure any one act of the spiritual or temporal rulers of our Zion, it is easy to understand what progress the spirit of disaffection was making, all this while, towards the persons of those rulers, and how the whole body of the Church itself was daily drifting away into a false position.

Other influences, tending to the same result, were in operation upon every side. To enumerate all these, or even to describe minutely any one of them, is not the object of the present work. My only reason for noticing them at all is to trace the pernicious effects which they produced in the Church at home, and, through her, in the Church abroad.

¹⁷ Collier, viii. 31, 32, 40. It is right to remind the reader that Laud declares, in his defence at his trial, that he advised the king against this act; reminding him of the censure which Parliament had passed upon Mainwaring; and expressing his fear that 'ill construction would be made of it.' History of his Troubles, 239.

Among the most prominent of such disturbing forces, may be reckoned the Arminian and Sabbatarian controversies, which were now zealously maintained. The former of these had, for some years past, given rise to questions far more wide and complex than the doctrinal propositions, originally advocated by Arminius, in opposition to the school of Calvin. And the many causes of excitement,—which, in the time of Archbishop Bancroft, had acted in one direction, and, now, in the time of his successor Archbishop Abbot¹⁸, were acting in another,—served to embroil the conflict still more. The sympathy which Abbot felt and expressed for the advocates of the Genevan discipline, provoked an antagonistic spirit in the many who believed that such discipline was opposed to the true government of the Church. And, accordingly, the history of Laud, from the time of his first entering the University of Oxford to the close of his career, is little more than a record of the conflict thus created, and continuing under different phases. Hence the Royal Injunctions, which Laud was concerned, with other Bishops, in framing, soon after his consecration to the See of St. David's; and which were promulgated by James the First, in 1622. Hence also the proclamation issued by the present King, in 1626, against novelties in doctrine and discipline; and the reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles, in 1629, with the Royal declaration prefixed; measures, which were directly

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The Arminian and Sabbatarian controversies.

¹⁸ See Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

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owing to Laud's advice, and speedily followed by the most angry and vehement opposition from various quarters¹⁹.

The Sabbatarian controversy was another source of irritation to the public mind. The causes, which quickened it into fiercest action, were the republication, in 1634, of King James's Book of Sports; and the order, which the Bishops were directed to enforce upon their Clergy, that they should read the same publicly in their respective Churches. This was a measure fraught with manifold mischief; for, although some men were sincerely persuaded of its lawfulness, it wounded the consciences of others who believed in the Divine authority of the Lord's Day; it perplexed the simple-minded; encouraged the licentious; and gave occasion to men to say, some in sorrow, but more in derision, that the Clergy were ready to substitute the declaration of an earthly King for the commandment of God²⁰.

Suppression
of Feoffees.

This measure had been by a short time preceded by another, which likewise increased hostile feelings

¹⁹ Heylyn, 97—100, 154, and 187—191.

²⁰ Fuller thus describes its effects upon some of the Clergy: 'As for such whose consciences reluctantly to publish the Declaration, various were their evasions. Some left it to their Curats to read. Nor was this the plucking out of a thorn from their own, to put it in another man's conscience, seeing their Curats were persuaded of the lawfulness thereof. Others read it indeed themselves, but presently after read the fourth Com-

mandment. And was this fair play, setting God and their king (as they conceived) at odds, that so they might themselves escape in the fray? Others point-blank refused the reading thereof, for which they were suspended ab officio et beneficio, some deprived, and moe molested in the High Commission: it being questionable, whether their sufferings procured more pity to them, or more hatred to the causers thereof.' Church Hist. xi. 148.

against the rulers of the Church; namely, the suppression of the corporation of the Feoffees²¹, who had been constituted for the purpose of purchasing inappropriate rectories, and establishing lectureships in the chief market towns. The poverty of the Church, and the consequent necessity of supplying the destitution which existed in many populous places, was the cause which led to the creation of such a trust; and the vast sums of money, speedily raised towards the accomplishment of its avowed object, show how strongly the sympathies of the public mind were enlisted in behalf of the work. Fuller, indeed, in his first notice of the proceedings of these Feoffees, justly calls their employment 'laudable;' and, with a generosity equal to his candour, acknowledges that his pen 'may safely salute them with a Godspeed, as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the designe²².' Nevertheless, others were quick to foresee many evil consequences from the prosecution of it, and resolute to stop its progress. The first open opposition made to it appeared in a Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford, in 1630, by Heylyn,

²¹ They were twelve in number, consisting, (as Fuller, who gives their names, tells us,) of 'four Divines, to persuade men's consciences, four lawyers to draw all conveyances, and four citizens who commanded rich coffers, wanting nothing save (what since doth all things) some swordsmen, to defend all the rest.' Church Hist. xi. 137.

²² *Ib.* He computes the number of parish churches in England, endowed with glebe and tithes, in his

day, to be nine thousand two hundred and eighty four. 'Of these,' he says, 'when these Feoffees entered on their work, three thousand eight hundred forty-five were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals and Colledges, or impropriated (as lay-fees) to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies. The redeeming and restoring of the latter was these Feoffees' designe.' *Ibid.*

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—then a Fellow of Magdalen College, and afterwards the biographer of Laud,—in which he pointed out what he believed to be the sinister designs of the Puritan party in establishing these lectureships. Further evidence, supposed to bear upon the same point, was supplied; and a course of direct resistance soon followed. A memorandum, found at the end of Laud's Breviate, shows his determination to ruin the project; for it is to this effect, namely, 'To overthrow the feoffment, dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in impropriations.' Opposite to this memorandum, the word 'Done' is written; a significant proof that his ability and zeal had been equal to his resolution. And, accordingly, we find, in the public records of this time, that legal proceedings were instituted in the Court of Exchequer against the Feoffees, their acts condemned, and the impropriations which they had bought confiscated to the King's use;—the declaration of a fuller censure being deferred to a future period²³. Here then was another stone of offence, set up in the way of multitudes who were still outwardly members of the same communion.

Severities
against
Leighton,
Prynne, and
others.

It does not appear that any further steps were taken in the Star Chamber, or in the Court of High Commission, to prosecute, as criminal offenders, the parties who had been forward in establishing the obnoxious Feoffees. But the powers of these despotic tribunals were never exercised with more

²³ Heylyn's Life of Laud, 210—212.

untiring vigilance, or with more unrelenting severity. Witness the barbarities inflicted, in 1630, upon Leighton; and, a few years afterwards, upon Prynne, and Bastwick, and Burton, for having published schismatical and seditious libels. Can we wonder that indignation and vengeance should have been treasured up against the Church which, in the person of her chief rulers, was identified with the proclamation and execution of sentences so iniquitous? They give emphatic confirmation to the truth of the remarks made in a previous passage of this work²⁴, that to have been entrusted with the management of any portion of a machinery in its own nature so terrible, was the heaviest encumbrance which could have been cast upon the Church, the sorest calamity which she could have been made to suffer. Her creed, indeed, is a perpetual protest against the severities of which she was made the agent; and, as long as the benign spirit of her services remains, so long shall the testimony be secured to every generation of her children, that, not in accordance with her true principles, but against them, is any violation of truth or peace ever committed in her name. But all this was overlooked amid the tumult of outraged feelings. The pillory, the fine, the scourge, the prison, the branded cheek and forehead, the mutilated ears and nostrils,—these were the atrocious tortures which men now suffered, or saw others suffering, by virtue of the Star-chamber

²⁴ Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

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decrees; and, the result, of course, was,—as it only could be,—the manifestation of pity for the oppressed, of hatred against the oppressor. The single spectacle of Prynne returning to the Tower, with marks of infamy stamped for the second time upon his bleeding person, and pointing to them as badges of a grateful triumph²⁵, was sufficient of itself to convince any one who, with calmness, yet in sorrow, looked upon it, that it was not he, but they who thus tortured him, for whom the real suffering was in store²⁶.

Forced emigration to New England.

And so the work of misery and ruin went forward. One sad token of its progress was the forced emigration of numbers of our countrymen, from their native shores, to the infant Colony of New England. The reader has already been informed of the allotment of that territory, in 1606, to the North Virginia, or Plymouth, Company,—its survey in 1614 by Smith, the celebrated chronicler of Virginia,—his designation of it, soon afterwards, by the title which it now bears,—the settlement, made upon its coast, in 1620, by the small band of Puritan emigrants from Leyden,—the generous assistance, towards obtaining their Patent, which they received from those true-hearted sons of the Church of England, Sir

²⁵ Prynne was branded upon each cheek with the letters S. L. (Schismatical or Slandorous Libeller); and Fuller relates, that, 'as he returned by water to the Tower, he made this distich upon his own stigmatizing,

S. L.

Stigmata maxillis referens, insignia
Laudis,
Exultans remeo, victima grata
Deo.'

Church History, xi. 155.

²⁶ It is impossible to acknowledge this truth in stronger terms than those which are employed by Clarendon himself, i. 167.

Edwin Sandys, and John and Nicholas Ferrar,—the questionable nature of the rights which they arrogated to themselves, upon their first landing,—the extreme rigour with which they exercised them,—and, lastly, the abortive effort of our Church, in 1623, to extend her influence to a portion of the same region²⁷. The records, now about to be examined, speak of other emigrants fleeing to that coast, only that they might escape the pains and penalties with which they were visited at home. They were still, by their outward profession, members of the Church of England. The prejudices of some, indeed, had been so strongly manifested in favour of the Genevan discipline, and the affections of others, who were willing to acknowledge the authority of the Episcopal Office, had been so greatly outraged by the overstrained and oppressive exercise of its powers, that their formal separation from our Church seemed well nigh inevitable. Yet, there were others, and, I believe, a majority, who, if they had been treated with forbearance, or generosity, or even with bare justice, would have rejoiced to remain within her fold. But the spirit and language of conciliation were alike unknown in that day; and so the breach became irreparable. The strength of the opposing parties was, at first, so unequally matched, that many of the weaker side, feeling that no remedy was left to them but flight, forsook all that was dear to them at home; and hastened across the Atlantic to the

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²⁷ Vol. i. c. xii. in loc.

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quarter which seemed most likely to give them shelter. It was a spectacle well fitted to excite shame, indignation, and sorrow, in the hearts of those who witnessed it. Nor can we wonder that Milton, whose heart burnt with hatred of Church authority, should have felt the fire of indignation kindle within him, as he called such things to remembrance. Accordingly, in his earliest political tract²⁸, he pictures to himself 'the form of our dear mother England,—in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to see so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity;'—and exclaims, with all the fervour of his impassioned eloquence, 'Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to States; I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country.' The number of those who were compelled to flee was so great, that we find Laud complaining of it, in one of his letters to Strafford, as 'something monstrous²⁹;' and, at length, a proclamation was issued, May 1, 1638, forbidding any one to emigrate, except with a licence and certificate of conformity from the parochial

²⁸ Entitled 'Of Reformation in England,' &c. i. 267, fol. ed. It was published in 1641, soon after Milton's return from Italy, in the year after the summoning of the

Long Parliament.

²⁹ Strafford Papers, ii. 169. The names and characters of many of the emigrants are given by Neal, i. 572—580.

minister. Upon the Clergy themselves, also, a similar check was placed; for none of them were permitted to leave England, save with the consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London³⁰. The enforcement of such conditions, at such a moment, could, of course, only operate, and was meant to operate, as an effectual bar against the departure of any who felt themselves aggrieved; and we are left at a loss which to deplore most, the severity which, in the first instance, thus drove men from home, or the folly which afterwards kept them shut up within it, when, with affections alienated and passions inflamed, their presence could only be dangerous. If it be true,—as I am disposed to believe it is³¹,—that Hampden, and Haslerig, and Say, and Brook, and Cromwell, were among those whose intended departure to New England was arrested by this insane policy, we are supplied at once with the most direct and palpable proof of the ruin which it entailed upon its authors. But, in truth, it is not necessary to depend upon any such particular instances. The simple statement of the measures, to which Charles and his counsellors had recourse in the present crisis, is sufficient to demonstrate their destructive tendency.

³⁰ Rushworth, i, part ii. 409.

³¹ The story is founded upon the authority of Dr. George Bates and Dugdale, two zealous Royalists, and met with general acceptance until the publication of Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the First*. The reasons which she has given for disbelieving it, i. 473.

have led some writers likewise to reject it. (See Professor Smythe's *Lectures in Modern History*, i. 368, and Foster's *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen*, iii. 81.) On the other hand, Hallam retains, in the last edition of his *Constitutional History*, the same passage, relating the story, which is found in former

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Intention of
sending a
Bishop to
New Eng-
land.

And here the humiliating fact forces itself upon our attention, that the first notice which is to be found of any intention, on the part of the rulers of our Church, to extend her offices and government, in their integrity, to her children, in any foreign plantation, is in immediate connexion with the above painful history. Heylyn, in fact, declares plainly, that the intention was suggested by the difficulties which had thus arisen. It was deemed 'unsafe,' he says, 'to Church and State, to suffer such a constant receptacle of discontented, dangerous, and schisma-

editions; a significant proof that he has not yet been convinced of its inaccuracy. The reasons adduced by Miss Aikin, and repeated by Mr. Foster, are, first, the improbability of Hampden entertaining the idea of emigration at a time when the great cause of ship-money, with which his name will be for ever associated, was depending, and the whole course of affairs, in which he bore so prominent a part, was drawing to a crisis: and, secondly, the statement of Rushworth, part ii. 409, that, although the ships in question were stopped by an order of Council, yet, afterwards, upon the petition of the merchants, passengers, and owners of the ships, the King 'was graciously pleased to free them from the late restraint to proceed in their intended voyage.' With respect to the first of these reasons, it may be observed, that, although Hampden was doubtless resolute in his opposition to the tax of ship-money, the issue of the struggle in 1638 was still very doubtful; and he might well have entertained the idea of emigration;

especially, as it appears from his own letter to Sir John Eliot, which Miss Aikin and Foster have cited, that he and others of his political friends had been for some time carrying on the plan of a settlement in New England. And, with respect to the second, it may be observed, that the statement in Rushworth is expressed in very general terms; and that so long an interval elapsed between the issuing and the removal of the prohibition, that some of the most obnoxious parties against whom it was directed, impatient of delay, probably gave up their plan. But this by no means proves that the prohibition was not directed against them, or would not have continued in force, if they had adhered to their design. As for the contemptuous rejection of the original statements of Bates and Dugdale, I would observe, that no proof exists of their want of veracity in this matter. On the contrary, the writers nearest their time repeat the same story. Neal, i. 618; Cotton Mather's Magn. Chr. Americ. i. 23; Kennet's History of England, iii. 88.

tical persons to grow up so fast [as it did in New England]; from whence, as from the bowels of the Trojan horse, so many incendiaries might break out to inflame the nation; that 'New England, like the spleen in the natural body, by drawing to it so many sad and sullen humours, was not unuseful and un-serviceable to the general health; but when the spleen is grown once too full, and emptieth itself into the stomach, it both corrupts the blood, and disturbs the head, and leaves the whole man wearisome to himself and others. And, therefore, to prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under consultation of the chief physicians, who were to take especial care of the Church's health, to send a Bishop over to them for their better government, and back him with some forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade, obedience.' Had it been an enemy of Laud who made this statement, it might have been looked upon as one of the many inventions which their malice was ever quick to devise against him; but, when we find it recorded by his own biographer and friend, and read further, that the only cause which led this 'design' to be 'strangled in the first conception,' was the breaking out of the troubles in Scotland²², we feel it impossible to deny that the plan was contemplated, and are compelled to wonder at the extent of that infatuation which could have framed it only with such intent.

If the counsel had been to send out, not to New

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²² Heylyn's Life of Laud, i. 369.

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England, but to Virginia, a spiritual and loving pastor, who would have been mindful to 'hold up the weak, heal the sick, bind up the broken, bring again the outcasts, seek the lost' of 'the flock of Christ'³³ throughout that province, it would have been some reparation of the wrongs which the secular power of England had inflicted upon her³⁴, and a just completion of that holy work, of which the foundation had been laid by many faithful members and ministers of her Church. It would have renewed the spirit of devotion which Hunt and Whitaker had manifested in their early ministrations in the Colony³⁵; and been a fitting acknowledgment of the labours which Sandys and Ferrar had so nobly sustained in the Council-chamber of the Virginia Company, and of the prayers and heart-stirring exhortations which Crashaw, and Symonds, and Copeland, and Donne, had urged so earnestly in the sanctuary of God, at home³⁶. Or, if, even amid all the disadvantages which our Church must have had to encounter in the hostile Colony of New England, the design had been, with paternal affection and sincerity, to gather together, under one visible head, her few and scattered members within its borders, and thereby to renew, with better hopes, the enterprize which, under Gorges and Morrell, in former years, had failed³⁷, it would have rested on lawful grounds; and, whatsoever might have been

³³ Exhortation in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops.

³⁴ See Vol. i. c. x. ad fin.

³⁵ Ibid. chap. viii. and ix. in loc.

³⁶ Ibid. c. x.

³⁷ Ibid. c. xii.

the issue, the record of the attempt would now be gratefully remembered. But, to appoint a Bishop of the Church, only that he might renew battle, upon the shores of Massachusetts, with those whom the terrors of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court had driven forth from England; and to 'back him with forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade, obedience,' was to brand that holy office with severest infamy, and to provoke vehement and stubborn resistance against all, or any, exercise of its authority.

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It is perfectly true, that, to uphold Church discipline by the strength of the secular arm, was regarded, in that day, as the surest way to enforce religious unity; and that no one seems to have questioned the lawfulness of employing violence in order to attain that end. A familiarity with such false principles of government was, probably, the process by which the acute mind of Laud was betrayed to entertain such counsels. But, whilst the remembrance of this fact may palliate, it cannot make to cease, the reproach which rests upon them.

The marvellous boldness and success with which Strafford had begun his administration in Ireland,—a few years before this forced emigration to New England had reached its height,—may have shut the eyes of Laud against the perils of his own course. At all events, the correspondence carried on between them during this period, shows, that, strong as were the measures which they both pressed forward in behalf of what they believed to be the King's

Strafford's
administration
in Ire-
land.

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prerogative, their own wishes far exceeded them³⁸. 'Thorough and thorough' were the words tossed to and fro between them, as indicative of the system which they desired to follow; and other phrases, also, we find invented in their letters, by which they contrived to assure each other of their mutual confidence in the midst of the gathering tumult. Indeed, there are few more remarkable pages in the history of this reign than that which relates the government of Ireland by Strafford. Hallam well describes him as 'the Richelieu of that island,' who 'made it wealthier in the midst of exactions, and, one might almost say, happier in the midst of oppressions³⁹.' To show the truth of this description, is the office of the general historian, not mine. My only reason for here adverting to it at all, is to glance at such points as have a direct bearing upon the matter now in hand. Suffice it, therefore, to state, that,—whilst in England no Parliaments were held for upwards of eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, and the funds, necessary for carrying on public affairs, were raised by the irregular and unjust measures which have been already noticed,—a totally different line of policy was pursued in Ireland. There, Strafford openly and at once convened the Parliament; and, with an energy and boldness to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, demanded, and obtained from it, six subsidies of thirty thousand pounds each⁴⁰. Again, the contest, which, in Ire-

³⁸ Strafford Letters, i. 111. and 155.

⁴⁰ Foster's Lives of Eminent British Statesmen, ii. 297—312.

³⁹ Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 60.

land, not less than in England, had grown up between the Church and her Puritan adversaries, was conducted, in the former, in a far more summary manner, than in the latter country. In England, the sittings of Convocation had, of course, ceased with those of Parliament. In Ireland, the Convocation was not only summoned, but as much startled by the appeals addressed to it, as had been the Parliament. Nor was its obedience to the will of Strafford less complete at last. The Articles of the Irish Church were those which exhibited the Calvinistic interpretation of Christian doctrine, having been drawn up by Archbishop Whitgift and Whitaker in 1595, and known by the name of the Lambeth Articles⁴¹. The attempt to make these Articles the symbol of the faith of the Church in England, we have seen, entirely failed⁴²; but, in Ireland, it had succeeded. The time, however, was now come, when, without any qualification or reserve, they were to be exchanged for the English Articles. In spite of the indignant murmurs of some of the members of the Committee, and the expressed alarm of Archbishop Usher, lest the whole matter should fail, the exchange, upon which Strafford insisted, was unanimously agreed to. Moreover, a body of Canons was introduced, more stringent and open to exception than those which had been framed, in 1603, for the discipline of the Church in England⁴³; and Laud was, with much reluctance on his own part,

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⁴¹ See Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

297, and 315, quoted, *ibid.*

⁴² Strype's Whitgift, ii. 278—

⁴³ See Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

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elected Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Such was the strong arm with which Strafford seemed to bend every thing, for a time, to his own will. But it was only for a time. His greatness soon broke under him; and others, as well as he, were buried beneath its ruins.

Troubles in
Scotland.

Scotland was the first quarter from which appeared the most portentous signs of the approaching danger. The ill-fated policy of Charles and his counsellors had awakened, in that country, a spirit of disaffection and resistance, which, being neither quelled by force, nor won by argument, speedily gathered strength; and singled out, for its chief object of attack, the discipline and services of the Church of England. The earliest cause of difference between the two countries, upon the all important subject of their religious faith, is to be found in the different manner in which the Reformation had been conducted in each. It has been already shown, that the efforts of the Puritans in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, to overthrow the Catholic and Apostolic government of the Church, and to set up the Presbyterian platform of Geneva in its place,—although productive of much evil and misery,—failed to attain their end⁴⁴. But, in Scotland, it was not so. There, chiefly through the mighty influence of Knox, the separation from all that had characterized the services and government of her Church, in former days, had been made as wide as possible.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

The evil and the good had been overwhelmed alike in one wide ruin; and, amid plunder, demolition, tumult, the discipline and theology of Calvin, had claimed, and found, the acceptance of her children. But the mastery was not complete. On the one hand, indeed, the property of the Church was spoiled, her venerable structures were defaced, and her ritual was abolished; yet the titles and territorial divisions of the several Bishoprics were retained; and their occupants, possessing only the name of Bishops, but nothing else which could give authority to their office, or validity to their acts, still held their seats in the Scotch Parliament⁴⁵. It was a mock Episcopacy; and the derisive name of Tulchan, commonly applied to it, bore witness to the fraud⁴⁶. On the other hand, although Knox had succeeded in obtaining from the General Assembly, in 1565, the adoption of government by the Presbytery, yet its legal establishment was not effected until 1592, twenty years after his death. And, even then, the Titular, or Tulchan, Episcopacy was not declared illegal⁴⁷. To keep up the ascendancy of the Court, by a dexterous management of these conflicting parties in Scotland, had been alike the policy of Elizabeth and of James the First;—a false and hollow policy, which served but to scatter more widely that seed

⁴⁵ See the authorities quoted in Lawson's History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, B. i. c. iv.

⁴⁶ The term is derived from a word signifying a model, or close resemblance; and was applied, in

the first instance, to denote the straw-stuffed figure of a calf placed before a cow to induce her to give milk. Ib. 112.

⁴⁷ Ib. c. viii. 240.

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of discord which, ere long, sprang up and ripened into a bitter harvest.

In the latter reign, indeed, a different order of things had been introduced by the establishment, in 1606, of Episcopacy, not in name, but in reality; and the consecration in England, in 1610, of the celebrated Archbishop Spottiswoode of Glasgow, Bishop Lamb of Brechin, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway⁴⁸. The character of the Clergy who, then and afterwards, were raised to the Episcopal office in Scotland,—the deliberations which took place, relative to the drawing up a Book of Common Prayer in conformity with our own,—and the adoption of the Articles of Perth in 1618, had held out some hope of peace and union between the two countries. But the rash measures of the present reign soon dispelled it. The true character and authority of the Episcopal office were now placed in jeopardy, by the attempt to make it the main instrument of temporal ascendancy. Not only were several of the Scotch Bishops created Privy-councillors; but Spottiswoode,—now translated to the Primacy of St. Andrews,—was appointed to the office of Lord Chancellor, which, ever since the Reformation, had been in the hands of laymen; Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, was nominated Lord High Treasurer; and other ecclesiastics were put in possession of the wealthiest and most important offices of state⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Lawson's History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, B. ii. c. ii. Spottiswoode had been nominated to the see of Glasgow in

1603, so that for seven years he had been only a Titular Bishop. Ib. 267.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 464.

These appointments were made soon after the visit of Charles to Edinburgh, in 1633; and Clarendon not only acknowledges that the blame of them was cast upon Laud, then Bishop of London, who accompanied the King; but adds that he was open to the charge, 'since he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Churchmen [that is, ecclesiastics] to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust.' Clarendon acknowledges also, not less distinctly, that 'the accumulation of so many honours upon' the Bishops was 'unseasonable;' that it 'exposed them to the universal envy of the whole nobility;' that they 'had very little interest in the affections of that nation, and less authority over it;' and that 'it had been better that envious promotion had been suspended, till, by their grave and pious deportment, they had wrought upon their Clergy to be better disposed to obey them, and upon the people to like order and discipline; and till by these means the liturgy had been settled and received amongst them; and then the advancing some of them to greater honour might have done well ⁵⁰.' If these be the admissions of Clarendon, it may easily be understood how wide and deep was the offence given to the Scottish nation by the favours thus heaped upon the Bishops. Other measures soon followed; but, although promoted avowedly for the purpose of cementing union, they only gave fresh occasion

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⁵⁰ Clarendon, i. 152—155.

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for the jealousy and hatred of the Presbyterian portion of the nation to break forth, and disturbed the minds, and alienated the affections, even of those who recognized, and desired to obey, the authority of the Episcopal office. A draft, for instance, of the Canons, designed for the government of the Scotch Church, was drawn up by her Bishops, and submitted to Laud,—who had now succeeded Abbot in the English Primacy⁵¹,—to Juxon, who had been appointed Laud's successor in the See of London, and to Wren, Bishop of Norwich. The draft received their approval; and was ratified, in 1635, under the great Seal⁵². But, unfortunately, both the subject-matter of these Canons, and the manner in which it was proposed to enforce them, were such as to ensure the defeat of the very object for which they had been drawn up. They contained, for instance, several references to the Book of Common Prayer to be used in Scotland; yet the Book itself did not accompany them, and was not completed until the following year. The fears, therefore, and suspicions of the people were justly aroused, by finding that they were required to observe particulars not yet fully placed before them. Moreover, no opportunity had been given for discussing the matter of these Canons in lawful assembly. The opinions, consequently, of those who were to be bound by them had not been canvassed, nor their consent openly and fairly ascertained. It seemed hopeless,

⁵¹ Sept. 19, 1633, soon after the King's return from Scotland. *Ib.* 183.

⁵² *Ib.* 184; Collier, viii. 100.

therefore, to expect any favourable issue from a scheme brought forward in a way so plainly repugnant to the proper usage of the Church⁵³. It challenged, at its very outset, the resistance both of the Clergy and the people, whose acceptance it demanded.

Before I proceed to state the consequences of this state of things, it is necessary to notice the measures taken by Archbishop Laud with respect to the English forces⁵⁴ in Holland, and the factories of English merchants settled in that country and at Hamburg, and other places of trade, at this time. He obtained an order of Council, by virtue of which no colonels were to appoint chaplains to their regiments, nor merchants to their factories, but such as were favourable to the Church of England; and a letter, bearing date July 17, 1634, is still extant, from Laud to the merchants at Delph, commending to them Mr. Beaumont, who had been chosen by joint consent of their Company to be their Preacher, and requiring them to allow him 'the usual ancient stipend' received by his predecessors. He then informed them, that it was the King's wish that they should conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and that, about Easter, they should name yearly two Churchwardens, who should look to the orders of the

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Jurisdiction
of the Bishop
of London
over English
congregation
abroad,
and over the
English Co-
lonies.

⁵³ Collier, viii. 104. Clarendon admits it to have been 'a fatal inadvertency,' and to have been caused by the 'unhappy craft' of the Scotch Bishops, con-

trary to the express directions of Laud, i. 185, 186.

⁵⁴ These forces had been in the pay of the States of Holland, ever since their separation from Spain.

Church, and give an account according to their office. Mr. Beaumont himself also was required to observe all the orders of the Church of England, as prescribed in her Canons and Liturgy; and, if any should disobey this ordinance of the King, his name and offence were to be certified by the Chaplain to the Bishop of London, for the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly⁵⁵. This document then clearly points out the time and manner in which the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was made to extend over English congregations abroad.

But not to English congregations in the various factories of Europe alone, was the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, thus defined, limited. The propositions, tendered by Laud to the Council, and accepted by them, provided that the same regulations should be observed by Companies of Merchants settled 'in any foreign parts⁵⁶;' and, accordingly, Heylyn, in his notice of the above provisions, states that 'the like course also was prescribed for those further off, that is to say in Turkey, in the Mogul's dominions, the Indian Islands, the Plantations in Virginia, the Barbadoes, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade.' He adds, moreover, that 'it was now hoped that there would be a Church of England in all courts of Christendom, in the chief cities of the Turk, and other great Mahometan Princes, in all our Factories and

⁵⁵ Collier, viii. 94.⁵⁶ Annals of Charles I. in loc.

Plantations in every known part of the world, by which it might be rendered as diffused and Catholic as the Church of Rome⁵⁷.' CHAP.
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A better opportunity will be found, in the sequel, to show how far this hope was realized; but I must not omit to mention one very important document, bearing upon this part of the subject, which was drawn up at this period. It is a Commission, having especial reference to our Colonies in North America, and to the regulation of their spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, which it places under the control of the persons named therein, namely, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Lord Treasurer, who was then Bishop Juxon, and others. The powers, granted under this Commission, are expressed in general terms; and, it is probable, were intended only to serve as a basis upon which special instructions might afterwards be established⁵⁸. We might have hoped,—and, assuredly,

⁵⁷ Heylyn, 276. Harris, in his Life of Charles I. p. 209, has written a note upon this passage in Heylyn, imputing, most unjustly, upon the strength of it, to the Church of England, in his day—his work was published in 1758,—a desire to establish the same spiritual despotism in foreign countries as that exercised by Rome, and to maintain it by the same means. He allows also his dissenting prejudices so far to overcome his sense of truth, as to charge, in the same note, all the members of our Church, then employed in the service of 'the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel in Foreign Parts,' with the basest and most corrupt motives. A passage more discreditable to its writer is rarely to be met with; and it is singular, that the statement which provoked him to put it upon record, is only the expression of a hope, in itself most just, that, wheresoever the name of England was known, her Church might be enabled to prove herself a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ.

⁵⁸ It is to be found in Latin in Hazard, i. 344—346, who quotes it from the Appendix of Pownall on the Colonies; and it is dated April 10, 1634.

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it had been well for our Colonies, if the hope could have been realized,—that such instructions should have been calmly and maturely considered; and not left to have been dictated by the painful exigencies which were created in that day of division and of strife. But the unhappy policy, already adverted to in this chapter, with reference to one portion of our Trans-Atlantic possessions, tells us that such a hope was vain; and the chapters that are to follow will declare the sad results.

Meanwhile, the regulations, which Laud thought it his duty to make with reference to some who were not members of our own Church, served but to hasten the approaching crisis. The command, for instance, issued by him, in 1634, that the Dutch and Walloon congregations, in the Diocese of Canterbury, should use our Liturgy, and observe all duties and payments that were required, was strongly resented by them, as contrary to the privileges which they had received upon their first settlement in this country, and which had been continued from the time of Edward the Sixth to the present reign⁵⁹. And thus another ingredient of strife was added to the many already in existence and operation both in England and Scotland.

In the latter country, indeed, the disputes of which I have traced the origin and progress, soon reached their height. Without any consultation with the Clergy, or notice to some even of the

⁵⁹ Rapin, x 290.

Bishops themselves and the Lords of the Privy-Council⁶⁰, an order was issued to read, upon a given day, July 23, 1637, in all the churches of Scotland, the Service Book, which had been approved and ratified by the authorities in England. Nothing further was required to make the fiercest fires of opposition break forth and spread. The scenes of disgraceful tumult which took place in Edinburgh, upon the day appointed for observing the order, are too well known to be again described. The enforcement of the obnoxious service was in consequence first suspended, and then urged anew; the petitions and remonstrances against it were met by fresh proclamations insisting upon obedience; until at length, the great body of malecontents (forming a majority of the Scottish people) drew up and signed their Confession of Faith, which they called The Solemn League and Covenant.

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A Covenant there had been before, agreed to by the Scots, and subscribed by King James and his household, in 1580. But to the present instrument (1637-8) certain conditions were added, which essentially altered its character, and, under the cover of them, they who subscribed it not only rejected the innovations which had been recently attempted to be made, but bound themselves to pursue a course, the inevitable result of which would be to destroy the very authority which had introduced

The Cove-
nanters.

⁶⁰ Clarendon, i. 191.

them. They bound themselves also to assist, and stand by one another, at all adventures: and for the observance of this Covenant, required an oath, couched in the most solemn terms, of all their countrymen;—an act, which in itself was an usurpation of power, and violation of justice, more flagrant than any against which the Covenanters protested ⁶¹.

The General Assembly, which soon afterwards met at Glasgow, gave their sanction to the Covenant, and declared all the acts, touching the religious government of Scotland, which had been passed since the accession of James the First, to be null and void. The Bishops were thereby deposed and excommunicated; and Canons, Liturgy, Articles, all abolished ⁶². These proceedings were plainly against the wish and authority of the King; and his High Commissioner ordered,—but without effect,—the dissolution of the Assembly. Open hostilities consequently commenced; and, although the superiority of Charles's army and fleet was such as to have made success almost certain, yet, by a course of strange mismanagement, he not only failed to strike any decisive blow, but was prevailed upon to agree to Articles of Pacification at Berwick, in 1639, by which all the revolting acts of the General Assembly at Glasgow were ratified, and his own

⁶¹ Neal, i. 610; Heylyn, 356; ⁶² Rapin, x. 359—365.
Clarendon, i. 197.

repeated labours to uphold Episcopacy in Scotland scattered to the winds⁶³.

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And now, the necessities of the King compelled him, in 1640,—after an intermission of nearly twelve years,—to convene a Parliament. But his impatience to be put at once into possession of supplies, and the determination of Parliament not to grant them, until security could be found for redressing the grievances of which complaint was made, soon terminated its existence. Within a few weeks after its assembling, to the grief of all lovers of peace and order, and to the ill dissembled joy of those who were hostile to the King, it was suddenly dissolved⁶⁴. The King himself felt, and expressed great sorrow for, the error which had been thus committed; but sorrow could not repair it. From that very hour, in the quaint, strong language of Fuller, 'did God begin to gather the twiggs of that rod (a civill warr) wherewith soon after He intended to whip a wanton nation⁶⁵.' The King's difficulties multiplied on every side; his urgent want of money forced upon him fresh expedients to raise it; and these, in their turn, helped to irritate and alarm the public mind more and more.

Parliament
convened,
and dis-
solved.

But, apart from, and above, all these, was supplied another element of disturbance, which worked with fatal power against the Church; namely, the promulgation of a new body of Canons by the Convocation, which had been summoned at the meeting

Canons of
1640.

⁶³ Ibid. 373—376; Clarendon, i. 219.

⁶⁴ Clarendon, i. 246.

⁶⁵ Fuller's Church Hist. xi. 168.

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of the late Parliament. Contrary to general usage, the Convocation had not broken up, on the dissolution of Parliament, but continued its sittings for a month longer under a new writ. The evil of such a proceeding can scarcely be described by any one in more emphatic terms than by him who would have been the last to have spoken with captiousness, or undue harshness, of its abettors. 'It made Canons,' says Clarendon, 'which it was thought it might do; and gave subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might not do: in a word, did many things, which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst;—and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only some few clergymen were exposed⁶⁶.' That the Convocation should have ventured to prolong its sittings for a single hour after Parliament had been dissolved, was itself a measure exposed to very grave question. Only one precedent, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was cited in its support; and thirty-six members, out of the hundred and twenty who formed the house, protested against it. Among these was the learned and faithful Hacket; and he and the others only did not openly withdraw from the house, because some of the legal authorities of the day declared the continuance of the Convocation to be legal⁶⁷.

But, whatsoever difference of opinion might exist

⁶⁶ Clarendon, i. 261.

⁶⁷ Collier, viii. 183.

as to the authority of the Convocation, there could be none at all as to the illegality of some, and the extravagance and inexpediency of other, acts which were performed under its sanction. To give subsidies, and to enjoin oaths, was manifestly the exercise of a power which it could not rightfully possess: and,—at a time when men's passions were daily vexed by the extreme and oppressive exactions of the Royal prerogative, and by despotic and arbitrary proceedings on every side,—to carry the doctrine of the Regale to such a height as is asserted in the first Canon, and to make such unreserved and wide-sweeping declarations against any change whatsoever in the government of the Church as is contained in the oath under the sixth Canon⁶⁸, was only to alarm,—as the event proved,—the moderate and well-affected, and

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⁶⁸ The oath which enjoined these declarations, it is well known, was called the *et cætera oath*; and Fuller remarks that 'many took exception at the hollownesse of the oath in the middle thereof, having its bowels puffed up with a windie &c., a cheverel word, which might be stretched as men would measure it.' We learn, upon the same authority, that some of the Bishops 'presently pressed the Ministers of their Diocesses, for the taking thereof, and enjoined them to take this oath kneeling: a ceremony never exacted, or observed, in taking the oath of Supremacy or Allegiance.' B. xi. p. 171.

Neal quotes (i. 633) a letter from Nalson's Collection, p. 497, written by the celebrated Sanderson to Laud, in which he assures his grace, 'that, multitudes of Churchmen,

not only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the oath, or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance; so that unless by his Majesty's special direction, the pressing the oath may be forborne for a time: or that a short explanation of some passages in it most liable to exception be sent to several persons, who are to administer the same, to be publicly read before the tender of the said oath,—the peace of this Church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion, than by any thing that has happened within our memories.'—It is difficult to understand how such advice, coming from such a man, at so critical a moment, could have been set at nought.

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to draw forth angry and clamorous resistance from all besides ⁶⁹.

The Long
Parliament.

The resistance soon came; for, the King's embarrassments compelled him to convene another Parliament before the expiration of that year. It assembled early in November; and will be for ever memorable in history by the name of the Long Parliament. Another Convocation also assembled at the same time; but Fuller states that its members soon grew tired, 'as never inspirited by commission from the King to meddle with any matters of religion;' and that one of their body proposed 'that they should endeavour, according to the Levitical law, to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent their adversaries' intention, by condemning such offensive Canons, as were made in the last Convocation. But it found no acceptance,' he adds, 'they being loath to confess themselves guilty before they were accused'⁷⁰. The proposition itself however afforded strong proof that danger most imminent was felt to be at hand. And, in the second month of the new Parliament, formal charges were drawn up against the late Convocation; and resolutions unanimously passed, declaring that the several Constitutions and Canons ecclesiastical, and the

⁶⁹ Fuller, xi. 168—171; Collier, viii. 181—188. It is only bare justice to Laud, to observe, that in the History of his Troubles, p. 79, he distinctly states that the continuance of the Convocation in 1640, was a course of which he did not approve; and that the

King, anxious to receive the subsidies agreed to by Convocation, urged the continuance of its sittings, declaring that the Lord Keeper Finch assured him of the legality of such a proceeding.

⁷⁰ Fuller, xi. 172.

several grants of benevolences or contributions, agreed upon during its sittings, did not bind either the clergy or the laity of the land; and that many of the matters therein contained were contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject ⁷¹.

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These resolutions were speedily followed by other measures, which proved that the condemnation of past acts was not to be confined to words. Strafford and Laud were both impeached of high treason, in the name of all the Commons of England, and imprisoned. The arrival of the Presbyterian Commissioners at the same time from Scotland, enabled the members of the two Houses, who were appointed to act in the matter, to proceed forthwith with the trial of Strafford. Laud's trial was for the present postponed; and Clarendon expresses his conviction, that, at that time, the enemies of the Archbishop had no 'thought of resuming it, hoping that his age and imprisonment would have quickly freed them from further trouble ⁷².' But symptoms were to be seen on every side of the rancorous and bitter hatred which filled men's hearts. The favour shown to the Presbyterian Commissioners; the joyful triumph with which Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were welcomed by vast multitudes of people, upon their return (under warrants signed by the Speaker)

Impeach-
ment of
Strafford
and Laud.

⁷¹ Collier, viii. 194, 195. It should be borne in mind that these Canons of 1640 were abrogated soon after the Restoration. 13 Car. II. c. 12.

⁷² Clarendon, i. 335.

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from their respective places of imprisonment to London; the clamorous abuse heaped by the populace upon the Bishops; the numerous and urgent petitions presented for the total extirpation of their office; the appointment of a Committee of Religion consisting of members of Parliament; the eagerness with which complaints and reproaches against the Clergy were brought before them, and the unrestrained licence given both to the pulpit and press to pour forth invectives against the Church, her services, her orders, and the persons of her ministers⁷³; were all formidable indications of the tempest that was ready to burst upon the head of the devoted Primate, and of the desolation that was to follow.

Execution
of Strafford.

Before the summer of the next year (1641) arrived, the enemies of Strafford had achieved their object. His skill, and courage, and touching eloquence, availed him nothing. The bill of his attainder was passed by the Commons, in haste, and with an overwhelming majority; by the Lords, with

⁷³ Clarendon, 348—358. Of the heap of scurrilous pamphlets which appeared in that day upon the above subjects, the majority have long since been forgotten, as they deserved to be. But there was a higher class of controversial writings which, the reader will remember, was called into existence, from 1639 to 1641, by the conflict then raging. The most conspicuous of these, on the one side, were Archbishop Usher's Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, and the treatise of the excellent Bishop Hall,

entitled 'Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted,' with his various Replies in its defence; and, on the other side, the pamphlet of Hall's five Presbyterian opponents, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, who wrote under the appellation of Smectymnus, (formed by the initial letters of their respective names,) and the Animadversions and Apology for Smectymnus, and other tracts upon the same subject, by Milton.

reluctance, and delay, and diminished numbers;—the voices of less than half the whole number of those who had heard his trial being left to confirm his sentence, and the people at the gates intimidating them by their clamour. When the bill came to be considered by the King, Bishop Juxon alone urged him to reject it⁷⁴. He would fain have done so: but the continued violence of the people,—joined with shameful sophistry of argument on the part of his counsellors⁷⁵, and the touching entreaty even of Strafford himself, conjuring him not to resist,—at length wrung from the King, in spite of protestations and of promises, the assent to his execution⁷⁶.

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The same day, on which the King signed the commission for the Lords to pass Strafford's attainder, witnessed also his signature to the bill by which the session was to continue, during the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament; a measure, ostensibly brought forward for the purpose of giving good security for a loan, but which, in reality, ensured to the irritated

Act for the indefinite prolongation of Parliament.

⁷⁴ Rapin, xi. 162.

⁷⁵ Witness the pleas advanced by the Archbishop of York (Williams). Hacket, in his admirable *Life of the Archbishop*, part ii. p. 161, attempts, but without success, to justify them. See also *Clarendon*, i. 456—459, and *Smythe's Lectures*, i. 381.

⁷⁶ The terms in which Laud notices this event in the *History of his Troubles*, written during his imprisonment, are too important to be omitted: 'Notwithstanding the hard fate which fell upon him [Strafford], he is dead with more

honour, than any of them will gain who hunted after his life. The only imperfections which he had, that were known to me, were his want of bodily health, and a carelessness (or rather roughness) not to oblige any: and his mishaps in this last action were, that he groaned under the public envy of the nobles, served a mild and gracious Prince, who knew not how to be, or be made great; and trusted false, perfidious and cowardly men in the Northern employment, though he had many doubts put to him about it.' p. 178.

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opponents of the King, the opportunity of maturing, without fear of interruption, whatsoever designs they entertained against him ⁷⁷. Some of the early acts, indeed, of the Parliament, whose sittings were thus indefinitely prolonged, were nothing more than those which truth and justice demanded at the hands of honest and patriotic men; and, had its course been terminated by them, or carried on only in conformity with them, all might yet have been well. The abolition, for instance, of the High Commission Court, and of the Star Chamber, which was accomplished by two separate Acts passed for that purpose, during this year (1641), put an end to a fruitful source of intolerable tyranny and corruption. I have never disguised or palliated the enormous evils inflicted by these two tribunals upon the Church and people of England; and with gratitude, therefore, is the fact of their abolition recorded.

Abolition of
the High
Commission
Court and
Star Cham-
ber.

Aggressions
of Parlia-
ment.

But a very different feeling is excited, when we go on to review the measures which preceded and followed these. The bills, early brought in by the Commons, to 'take away the Bishops' votes in Parliament,' and 'for the utter eradication of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters,'—although the first of them was rejected by the Lords, and the second, notwithstanding it was twice brought forward, did not then

⁷⁷ Again let Laud's words be noted: 'At this time the Parliament tendered two, and but two, Bills to the King to sign. This to cut off Strafford's head was one; and the other was that this Parliament should neither be dissolved

nor adjourned but by the consent of both Houses; in which, what he cut off from himself, time will better show than I can. God bless the King, and his Royal Issue.' History of his Troubles, ut sup.

reach its ultimate stage in the Commons,—showed the quarter towards which the current of their excited passions was turned ⁷⁸. It soon set in with greater violence. Courageous and faithful men,—Hacket, for example,—essayed to stem it; but they were overborne. A new bill, to take away the Bishops' votes in Parliament, passed the Commons. The liberty of the Clergy to interfere in any temporal matter whatsoever, was strenuously denied; whilst, yet, with strange inconsistency, some of the English Puritan Ministers were, at the same time, avowedly exercising the most direct and important influence, upon subjects which came under daily discussion in the House of Commons; and Alexander Henderson, the Presbyterian Minister of Scotland, was assuming a dictation in temporal affairs more lordly than any which had been manifested by the Bishops of that country ⁷⁹. Nay, the Commons made it a subject of direct complaint, that the King should presume to exercise his undoubted right of filling up five Bishoprics at that time vacant. It mattered not that the men, appointed to the respective Sees, were allowed to possess the highest possible character for piety, learning, and discretion; the mere fact of their nomination to the office of Bishop, was deemed an offence. The Bishops, who still desired to discharge their duties in Parliament,

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⁷⁸ Clarendon, i. 410—418, and 482—484.

⁷⁹ Ibid. ii. 25. The Bishops referred to in the next sentence were Prideaux, Regius Professor of Di-

vinity in Oxford; Winniff, Dean of St. Paul's; Brownerigg, Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge; King, Dean of Lichfield; and Westfield, Incumbent of St. Bartholomew's,

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were driven by the populace from the doors of the House; and, when some of them, obeying the evil counsel of Williams, Archbishop of York, drew up and signed a protestation upon the subject, they were forthwith accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower, where they remained for several months, until the bill, depriving them of their seats in Parliament, had passed. The King, in his turn, charged certain members of the House of Commons with high treason; tried to seize their persons; and, finding that they had escaped into the city, followed them thither; demanded that they should be delivered up into his hands; and forbade any to harbour them⁸⁰. But the accused members were never given up to him. The people would not obey. They crowded around the King, as he passed along, with scowling looks and insulting words; and a paper was thrown into the window of his carriage, bearing the inscription, 'To your tents, O Israel'⁸¹.

Civil war
begins.

These were words of fatal omen; and others of like import quickly followed them. But, ere long, remonstrances, petitions, and declarations, cease to be heard or answered. The weapons of war are made ready; and, before the next year is brought to a close, the standards of opposing armies are set up;—the King, and his adherents, on one side; the Parliament, with its leaders, on the other⁸². Then comes the fearful shock of battle upon the hills, and plains,

⁸⁰ Clarendon, ii. 118—124.

⁸¹ Rapin, xi. 316.

⁸² The King's standard was set

up at Nottingham, Aug. 25, 1642.
Clarendon, iii. 190.

and valleys of once happy England. It is no foreign invader who marches to and fro; but citizen arrayed against citizen, father against son, brother against brother. Now, shouts the Cavalier the cry of triumph; and now, the Roundhead. But, whosoever falls or conquers, he bears alike the name of Englishman; and so the land of the survivor is left more desolate. The spirits of the noblest of our countrymen are broken, and their faces pale with sorrow, as they gaze upon the scene; their sleep passes from them, and their hearts are ready to break, as with 'shrill and sad accent' they cry, 'Peace, Peace:' but no peace comes unto them, save that which the swift-winged messenger of death brings with it, amid the din and carnage of the battle⁸¹.

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Yet not to the high places of the field is the strife confined. The eye shall turn from Edgehill and Newbury, from Marston-moor and Naseby, and see, in the assemblies of men not armed with sword or spear, fresh elements of confusion and misery at work. Let our attention chiefly be directed to those which wrought the downfall of the Church; that, seeing the heavy trials through which she thus passed at home, we may learn the severity of those which her children, in distant Colonies, were soon made to suffer.

And, first, in the Assembly of Divines,—which Assembly of Divines. met, for the first time, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on Sunday, July 1, 1643,—we trace a deter-

⁸¹ See Clarendon's Account of Lord Falkland, who fell at Newbury, in 1643, iv. 255.

mination to act, both in spiritual and civil matters, upon principles recognized neither by the Church, nor by the law of the land. It consisted of a hundred and twenty-one Clergymen, not appointed by the King,—nay, his proclamation had been issued, expressly forbidding them to meet for the present object ⁸⁴,—nor yet chosen by their brethren, to be their representatives in lawful synod. The sole authority, by which they were summoned, was that of an ordinance of Parliament; the knights and burgesses of which had selected them, as a council to act on their behalf, in all such matters as might be proposed to them by the two Houses, touching the government, and liturgy, and doctrine of the Church. To these were added thirty Lay-Assessors, consisting of ten Peers and twenty Commoners, who possessed an equal right of debating and of voting with the Divines ⁸⁵.

The establishment of some such Assembly had been strongly pressed before, both in the Remonstrance of the House of Commons to the King, on the first of December, 1641; and, also, during the spring of 1643, in the negotiation at Oxford. But its constitution and assembling at the present time, arose from the necessity imposed upon Parliament, through its reverses, of calling in the aid of the Scots; and the condition insisted upon by the Scots, that ‘there should be an uniformity of doctrine and dis-

⁸⁴ Neal, ii. 210; Collier, viii. 258.

⁸⁵ Neal, ii. 208, where the whole list of the Assembly is given.

cipline between the two nations.' To prepare the way for the attainment of this end, was the avowed object of the Assembly⁸⁶; and, it is plain, therefore, that an overwhelming majority of its members must have been the avowed partizans of a Parliament, already committed, by its necessities, to the adoption of most unjustifiable measures. Clarendon, indeed, states, that there were not above twenty of the whole number of Divines, 'who were not declared enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; some of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation than of malice to the Church of England'⁸⁷. Baxter, on the other hand, describes them as 'men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity,' and asserts, that 'the Christian world, since the days of the Apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines than this and the synod of Dort⁸⁸.' The censure and the eulogy pronounced by these writers are alike overstrained. But, let the character of the Divines who composed the Assembly have been what it might, they were, manifestly, not competent, as a body, to decide the questions submitted to them, touching the doctrine, liturgy, and government of the Church, for the Church was not fairly represented among them; and the arguments which she had to urge, were neither stated with fulness, nor

⁸⁶ Neal, ii. 206.⁸⁸ Baxter's Life, part i. p. 93.⁸⁷ Clarendon, ii. 424.

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heard with patience. It mattered not that the names of some of her most faithful and able ministers,—such as Brownrigge, Hacket, Hammond, Morley, Prideaux, Usher, and Sanderson,—were to be found in the list of the Assembly; its very constitution precluded these men from ever appearing in it, or taking any part in its proceedings. And, of others who were constant in their attendance, there was no sufficient guarantee given that a just balance would be held between contending parties, even in the honoured names of Selden and Sir Matthew Hale, among the Lay-Assessors, or in those of Caryl, and Gataker, and Lightfoot, and Reynolds, and others among the Divines. For the sympathies of these men were with the Presbyterian party, which was now seeking, by unlawful means, to avenge itself upon the Church for the acts of which she stood accused; and they were either carried away by the current of tumultuous feelings to ends which they secretly disapproved; or, if they resisted its course, their resistance was useless⁸⁹.

Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians.

Of the origin and progress of the Presbyterians in England, and of the distinction between them and the Brownists or Barrowists, in the time of Elizabeth, a brief account has been already given. It has been stated also, that the principles of the latter party were, with some modification, those advocated by the Congregationalists, who had settled at Leyden

⁸⁹ Gataker, for instance, opposed the introduction of the Solemn League and Covenant, and advocated the authority of Episcopacy in the Assembly, but without effect. Biog. Brit.

under Robinson, and who now, returning to England, were called Independents⁹⁰. The opposition between these two parties began to assume a distinct form, at an early period of the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines:—the Presbyterians, on the one hand, maintaining, as of divine right, that mode of government, which, being vested, in the first instance, in the minister and lay-elders of a parish, is, in its turn, controlled by the classical assembly, and by the provincial, national, and œcumenical synod⁹¹: the Independents, on the other hand, asserting that ‘every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and ample jurisdiction of its members to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself⁹².’ A third class of opinions, called Erastian, also found its advocates among several of the leading members of the Assembly on both sides. They were so called from Erastus, a German physician and divine of the sixteenth century; and their object was to show, that the spiritual authority of the clergy was only such as could be maintained by convincing the reason, or influencing the affections; that it was not lawful for them to exercise the coercive authority of the keys; and, that, where punishment for offences, either of a civil or religious nature, was demanded, it could properly be inflicted by none but the civil magistrate⁹³.

⁹⁰ Vol. i. c. vii. and xii. in loc.

⁹¹ Short's History, § 587.

⁹² Apolog. Narrat., &c. quoted by Neal, ii. 266.

⁹³ Neal, ii. 265. A minute ac-

count is given in his sixth chapter, ib. 354—389, of the discussions and divisions which took place in the Assembly by the respective advocates of the above opinions.

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The Solemn
League and
Covenant
subscribed
by the Eng-
lish Parlia-
ment.

The majority of the Assembly were of the Presbyterian side; and the influence of Henderson, and the three other Presbyterian ministers, who were sent from Scotland as Commissioners, to take part in its proceedings, joined with the earnest desire of Parliament to obtain the assistance of the Scots in prosecuting the war against the King, speedily led to the subscription of the Solemn League and Covenant by the English Parliament. It was laid before the Assembly, in less than seven weeks from the date of its first meeting; received its instant and hearty approval; and was despatched the next day to the two Houses, with a letter entreating that it might be forthwith confirmed⁹⁴. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1643, it was read, article by article, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, before the Members of both Houses, the Scots Commissioners, and the Assembly of Divines, 'each person standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and swearing to the performance of it'⁹⁵. The Commons and the Assembly subscribed it forthwith in the chancel of the Church; the Lords did the same on the fifteenth of October; in Scotland, all persons were required, by the committee of states, to swear to and subscribe it, on pain of confiscation of their property; and, throughout all England, on the second of the following February, it was commanded to be taken by every person above

⁹⁴ Neal, ii. 217.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 221.

the age of eighteen years. It professed a sincere endeavour, on the part of all who subscribed it, to preserve 'the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government,—and to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of Church-government, directory for worship, and catechizing;' to extirpate 'Popery, prelacy (that is, Church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness;' to preserve 'the King's person, and authority,' as well as 'the rights and liberties of Parliaments;' to punish all 'incendiaries, malignants, and evil instruments,' who should do any thing 'contrary to the league and covenant;' and mutually to assist one another in the 'common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the Kingdom'⁹⁶.

To impose this covenant upon all men, as a test of their obedience, was a tyrant's work; and, with the spirit of a tyrant, it was carried forward. No civil right or office was allowed to remain with the possessor, unless he submitted to the test: and the English who resided abroad were not exempted from it any more than those at home⁹⁷. As for the Clergy,

Sufferings of
the Clergy.

⁹⁶ Ibid. ii. 219—222.

⁹⁷ Ibid. ii. 224. The very same course was here pursued by the Puritan party, which had been so

loudly condemned by them in the case of Laud, and the English Congregations at Delph and other places. Ibid. i. 552.

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if they refused to take it in their own persons, or to tender it to their parishioners, they were at once ejected from their livings; and their places occupied by those who had subscribed it. The whole framework of the Church was thus virtually destroyed; although the ordinance of Parliament for its abolition had not yet been issued. There were no longer any visitations, or ecclesiastical courts; nor was any regard paid to the Canons, or ceremonies, or even the Book of Common Prayer. All matters of business connected with the Church passed through the hands of the Assembly; ministers were elected by their parishioners; examined and approved by the Assembly; and confirmed in their benefices by Parliament, without any regard to the Bishop or his commissary. The work of expulsion proceeded quickly. From headships of Colleges, and from fellowships, in the two Universities, from livings and lectureships, hundreds were driven forth, amid cruel insults and reproaches; and the greater part of them, for no other crime than that of steadfast fidelity to their spiritual rulers, and loyalty to their King.

The charges brought forward against some of the expelled Clergy, upon grounds of immorality or incompetency, might doubtless have been true. In the case of so large a body of men, it could scarcely have been otherwise. But, not now to dwell upon the unlawfulness of the tribunals before which they were tried, and the unscrupulous proceedings which were dignified by the name of justice, the number of the Clergy who were proved

unworthy of their sacred office, bore no proportion whatsoever to the many who suffered for the truth's sake. In Walker's History of the Sufferings of the Clergy, abundant testimony is supplied to prove this fact; testimony, which, after every qualification which it may be thought by some persons to receive from the opposing evidence of Neal, and Baxter, and Calamy,—but which I think Walker has well refuted in his Preface,—remains to show an appalling aggregate of crime and misery. Collier indeed states, upon the authority of Fuller, that 'there were more turned out of their livings by the Presbyterians in three years, than were deprived by the Papists in Queen Mary's reign; or had been silenced, suspended, or deprived by all the Bishops, from the first year of Queen Elizabeth, to the time we are upon⁹⁸.' And even Neal is forced to confess, with the same historian, that 'the veins of the English Church were emptied of much good blood⁹⁹.' All this proves the truth of another remark of Fuller respecting the Presbyterians, that they who 'desired most ease and liberty for their sides when bound with Episcopacy, now girt their own garment the closest about the consciences of others¹⁰⁰.'

But their conduct in disposing of the preferences which they thus got into their own hands, reflects not less disgrace upon them than did the mode in which they drove out their rightful possessors. For Fuller tells us, that, 'to supply the

Description
of their per-
secutors.

⁹⁸ Collier, viii. 269.

⁹⁹ Neal, ii. 263.

¹⁰⁰ Fuller, xi. 212.

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vacant places, many young students (whose Orders got the speed of their Degrees) left the Universities. Other Ministers, turned Duallists and Pluralists; it being now charity what was formerly covetousness, to hold two or three benefices. Many vicaridges of great cure, but small value, were without Ministers, (whilst rich matches have many suitors, they may die virgins that have no portions to prefer them) which was often complained of, seldom redressed; it passing for a current maxim, it was safer for people to fast than to feed on the poyson of Malignant Pastours¹⁰¹. But Fuller, it may be said, was attached to the King's cause: and his testimony, therefore, may bear harder against the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines than they deserved. Be it so. Let us turn then to Milton, that unrelenting enemy of the King and of the Church, and see the terms in which he describes the acts of the said Assembly: 'To reform religion,' (he says) "a certain number of Divines were called, neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out; only as each member of Parliament, in his private fancy, thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of Bishops and Prelates, that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet

¹⁰¹ Fuller, xi. 208.

these conscientious men (ere any part of the task was done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, (besides one, sometimes two or more, of the best livings,) collegiate masterships in the University, rich lectures in the city; setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms: by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation, doubtless, by their own mouths. And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers; trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous and (as they hesitated not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly. So that, between them, the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of the reformation ¹⁰².'

Whilst the enemies of the Church were thus making havoc of her temporal possessions, her spi-

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The Directory.

¹⁰² Milton, vii. 401. Symmons's Ed.

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ritual ordinances were assailed and overthrown by the same hands. A few weeks after the meeting of the Assembly of Divines, a method of conducting the public devotions of the people by some other means than that of the ancient Liturgy, was submitted to their deliberation: and, having received their sanction and that of the General Assembly of Scotland, it was established by an ordinance of Parliament, bearing date January 3, 1644-5, under the title of 'A Directory for Public Worship'¹⁰³.

This was soon followed by another ordinance, which made it compulsory upon the ministers of each parish to read the Book of Directory, before morning sermon, on the Sunday after they had received it; and forbade the use of the Book of Common Prayer in any Church, Chapel, or place of public worship, or in any private place or family, under penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. Fines also were imposed upon any one who should refuse to observe the Directory, or dare to preach, write, or print, any thing in derogation of it¹⁰⁴. Such were "the tender mercies" of Presbyterian discipline! Such was the respect paid to the rights of other men's consciences, by those who had been so resolute and clamorous for the preservation of their own! It moved the Independents themselves to remonstrate; but the plea of toleration, which they strenuously urged, was urged in vain¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰³ Neal, ii. 274.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. ii. 277.

¹⁰⁵ Collier, viii. 297—302.

Meanwhile, the enemy, whom Presbyterians and Independents alike regarded with most bitter hatred, and whom they sought eagerly to destroy, was not yet cast out of their way. Hugh Peters, indeed, with a refinement of ferocious cruelty to which it would be difficult to find a parallel, had wished to banish him to New England, that the vengeance of its Puritan settlers might be wreaked upon him¹⁰⁶; but Parliament chose to reserve that wretched triumph to itself. Worn down with age, poverty, and sorrow, and painful imprisonment, Laud was now powerless to injure any who once had feared him; and, in a few more years or months, his last sand of life must have run out. Nevertheless, to gratify the feelings of the Scots, with whom the members of the English Parliament were now fast friends¹⁰⁷, he was brought to the bar of the House of Lords for trial. It commenced March 12, 1643-4. To the fourteen articles of impeachment, which had been preferred against him in 1640, were now added ten others, which, as well as the former, charged him with divers acts of treason, by endeavouring to subvert the government, and make the council table, the Canons of the Church, and the King's prerogative above the law; by interrupting the cause of justice; by favouring Popish doctrines, opinions, and censures, and persecuting all who opposed them; by dividing the Church of England from the foreign Protestant

¹⁰⁶ It was moved in the House of Commons, May 1, 1643.

¹⁰⁷ Neal, ii. 286.

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To make these charges good, not only was every public document, supposed to be associated with the Archbishop's authority or name, brought forward, and the most invidious interpretation forced upon it, but all his private papers, even those which contained the record of his prayers, were ransacked. He was, as he himself said, 'sifted to the bran¹⁰⁹;' and any hint, or allusion, which could be gathered from all that he had ever written, or said, or done, in his whole life, and which could by possibility be converted into material of accusation, was eagerly laid hold of, and pressed against him. The persecuted Prynne was now the persecutor; and, with the malignity of a fiend, executed that hateful office; entering the prison-chamber of the Primate, whilst he was in bed; searching the pockets of his garments; carrying off every thing upon which he could lay his hands, save a small sum of money; refusing to let the Archbishop have even a copy of his own manuscripts, unless it were made at his own charge; in spite of promises that they should all be returned to him, restoring only three out of the twenty-one parcels which he seized; and supplying each one of the Peers with garbled copies of the Archbishop's Diary, on the day on which he was permitted to enter upon the recapitulation of his defence.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. ii. 17, and 286.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. ii. 329.

Prynne's spirit was a sample of that which animated the rest of the persecutors of Laud. After a lingering trial of more than eight months, the Lords, who had only attended partially, and in scanty numbers ¹¹⁰, voted that he was guilty of such things, as, in the unanimous opinion of the Judges, did not amount to treason. And, accordingly, in their first conference with the Commons, they expressed their opinion to that effect. The Commons, however, resolute in their purpose, had a second conference with the miserable remnant of Lords who were still bold enough to attend it; and, by their voices, the ordinance of attainder under which Laud was executed, was passed upon the same day which witnessed also the enactment of the Parliamentary ordinance for the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer and for the establishment of the Directory. It was the ordinance of a Parliament at open war with the King; and, without the consent of the King, the execution could not be lawful. The King did not only not give his consent, but caused assurance of his pardon to be conveyed to Laud. It was pleaded in arrest of judgment; and, of course, in vain. The sole indulgence which could be obtained,—and that, not until the first application for it had been rejected,—was, that the aged prelate should die, not upon the gibbet, but by the axe. Upon the tenth of January, 1644-5, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. And, in the readiness with which he

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¹¹⁰ Cobbett's State Trials, iv. 353.

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prepared himself for death; the patience with which he endured insults and reproaches, which, even to the last, were heaped upon him; the clearness and fidelity with which he vindicated himself, upon the scaffold, from the charges against which, before his judges, he had pleaded in vain; and the faithful, earnest prayer with which, in that solemn hour, he implored God, for Jesus Christ's sake, to pardon his own sins, and to restore peace and happiness to the King, the Parliament, the Church, and the 'distracted and distressed people¹¹¹;' we see all that can win for him our reverence and admiration.

His character.

Whilst these feelings predominate over every other, as we contemplate the close of Laud's career, it obviously becomes very difficult to form and express a true judgment upon his character. Nevertheless, this must be attempted; or the review, taken of events in which he bore so prominent a part, will have been made in vain. There are those, indeed, who hate the very name of Laud with a bitterness so intense, as to apply, to every act and word of his, the same wide-sweeping sentence of condemnation; whilst others, with every sympathy quickened into action in his behalf, are slow to recognize his infirmities, and the evils of which he was the author. The truth, however, must not be sacrificed by the indulgence of extravagant censure or praise. The question to be considered is, whether the power of those admirable qualities, displayed by

¹¹¹ See the Archbishop's Speech and Prayer appended to his 'Summarie Devotions,' 220—235. Oxford Edit. 1898.

Laud during his imprisonment, and trial, and at his death, may be found controlling him throughout the previous stages of his life; or, whether they were only the seed that was sown, and the fruit that was ripened, by severe and lengthened chastisement. The answer to be returned to this question by the impartial enquirer will, I believe, be this,—that, whilst chastisement purified and strengthened these qualities, and, but for its severity, their greatness would never have been fully proved,—the source, from which they were derived, had always been within him.

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The pious devotion, for example, which was his stay and solace when all earthly comfort had departed, did not then, for the first time, sustain and guide him. The record of his private devotions is still extant, in which he repeated, upon each day, the word of confession, of prayer, of praise; and strove to turn to his soul's profit the remembrance of some of the most memorable events which befel him in the course of his troubled life. He has noted, throughout those pages, in each recurring year, and in tones of deepest humiliation, the offences which he had committed ¹¹²; and has thus supplied, as his earliest biographer remarks, 'a brave example of a penitent, and afflicted soul, which many of us may admire, but few will imitate ¹¹³.' The foulest libeller will hardly dare to say, that the tracing of such

¹¹² Among these especially may be pointed out his prayer with reference to the marriage which he solemnized between the Earl of Devonshire and the divorced Lady

Rich, Dec. 26, 1605; and another, dated July 28, 1617, and March 6, 1641-2. Ibid. 166. 168.

¹¹³ Heylyn, 59.

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words with his hand, or the repeating them with his lips, was hypocrisy on the part of Laud; for no man could have known that such tokens of holy communion between him and the great Father of spirits ever existed, had not the spoiler rifled every secret and treasured paper belonging to him. The very character of such records bespeaks their truthfulness.

And that this spirit of devotion enabled Laud to resist and triumph over many a temptation which assailed him in his daily walk, is evident from the fact, that, amid many examples of gross profligacy, no stain was attempted to be cast upon his own temperate and chaste deportment; and, in an age greedy of spoil and reckless as to the means of gathering it, his hands, although wielding enormous power, were never soiled by dishonest gains. And yet, whilst he resolutely refrained from accumulating riches for the purpose of self-indulgence, he was unwearied, as he was generous, in prosecuting works of public munificence and private bounty. His weekly almsgiving, his daily hospitality, his affection for the poor of his native town of Reading¹¹⁴, his noble benefactions to the University of Oxford, his zeal, discrimination, and kindness, in befriending men whose piety and learning shed upon that age a

¹¹⁴ The following entry in his Journal supplies a touching proof of this: 'The way to do the town of Reading good, for their poor: which may be compassed, by God's blessing upon me, though my wealth be small. And I hope God

will bless me in it, because it was his own motion in me. For this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about it) till this night, as I was at my prayers. Jan. 1, 1633-4.'

lustre that will never fail,—all these bear witness to the depth and largeness of Laud's charity.

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Nevertheless, the course which he pursued, was marked by ruin to himself, and to the Church of which he was a chief overseer; and, for a large share of the causes which led to this destruction, he must, in his own person, be held responsible. One of the most prominent of these was an irritability of temper, manifesting itself in rudeness of speech and manner, which, even if his station had been less exalted, or his lot cast in less troublous times, must have exposed his acts to grievous misconstruction: and, of course, amid the difficulties by which he was daily and hourly beset, there was nothing which more easily gave repeated advantage to his enemies, or inflicted greater injury upon his own cause. The description which Clarendon gives, in his *History of the Rebellion*¹¹⁵, of the extent of this infirmity; the narrative which he relates, in the *History of his own life*¹¹⁶, of his free expostulation with the Archbishop respecting it; the allusions, constantly to be met with in contemporary writers, to the same subject¹¹⁷; and, indeed, the frank and unreserved confession which the Archbishop himself made, 'that it was an infirmity which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with

¹¹⁵ Vol. i. 175—180.

¹¹⁶ Vol. i. 70—74.

¹¹⁷ Fuller, for instance, in his own peculiar manner, speaking of the excellent qualities of Bishop

Juxon, shrewdly remarks that 'he had a perfect command of his passion (an happiness not granted to all Clergymen in that age, though Privy Counsellors).' xi. 150.

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it ¹¹⁸, all concur in showing the aggravated power with which this evil oppressed him.

But miseries more ruinous than any which could be excited by an irascible temperament, or hasty speech, arose from the belief, entertained by Laud, that, in order to give full effect to the benefits to be derived from the spiritual duties of the ecclesiastic, it was necessary to annex to it the multifarious avocations of the statesman. His enemies, indeed, would fain show that he strove after this kind of power, only from his love of political scheming, and the force of self-interested ambition. But here, again, the workings of his mind, as they are laid open to us in his Diary and Summarie of Devotions, supply distinct evidence of the conviction entertained by him, that such power was the appointed and lawful channel, through which the saving ordinances of the Gospel of Christ might spread more effectually throughout the land, and the glory of God be more signally advanced. The well-known entry in his Diary, March 6, 1636, respecting his appointment of Bishop Juxon to the office of Lord Treasurer, may be cited as one of the many evidences of the fact:— 'William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High-Treasurer of England: no Churchman had it since Henry VII's time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And

¹¹⁸ Clarendon's Life, ut sup. i. 73.

now, if the Church will not hold themselves up under God, I can do no more.' Nothing could be conceived better fitted to offend and alarm the country, than such an appointment at such a time; and the grounds of objection against it could not be removed¹¹⁹,—howsoever they might have been mitigated,—by Bishop Juxon's excellent administration of its duties. Neither is it easy to understand through what process a mind, like that of Laud, could be led to the conclusion, that the Church could only hold herself up by the appointment of her Bishops to such offices as these:—the just conclusion rather being, that, if by such means only her strength could be sustained, the sooner she fell the better. Nevertheless,—mistaken though it were,—it is impossible not to admit, that Laud's sole motive for the appointment of Juxon to the Treasurership, was, 'that the Church' might have 'honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it.' A like motive, I believe, it was,—mistaken, yet sincere,—which, actuating his life from the beginning, was quickened into stronger action, when,—in the maturity of his manhood, and already consecrated Bishop of St. David's¹²⁰,—he became entangled in the confidence and friendship of the profligate Buckingham, then in the zenith of his power, at the court of James the First. It was an intimacy fraught with ruin. As a compromise of Laud's

¹¹⁹ Clarendon, i. 175; Fuller, 1621, when Laud was in his forty-xi. 150.

¹²⁰ This took place Nov. 18,

spiritual character and office, it is, for its own sake, and independently of all other consequences, to be deplored; and it is most discreditable to Heylyn, that he should be found relating minutely the manner in which Laud's confidential agency, in behalf of Buckingham, was carried on¹²¹, and never once seem conscious that such employments ill accorded with the duties of a Bishop of the Church of Christ. That Laud's personal integrity was not corrupted by the relations thus formed, and that he ever strove to make them serve nobler ends, is evident from the allusions to be found in the record of his private thoughts¹²². Nevertheless, the scandal of such a position, was not thereby removed.

But greater evils still resulted from Laud's intimate relations with Buckingham. In the first place, the necessity was laid upon him of being almost always absent from his Diocese, the personal superintendence of which was his first duty; and which, in the case of others, he afterwards rigidly enforced. And, next, he became thereby the adviser and promoter of measures with which it had been good for him and for the Church, if he had never been associated. Some of the most prominent of these have been noticed in the earlier part of this chapter. They were completed in the lifetime of Buckingham; and, for them, although in a subordinate degree, Laud was responsible. But, when Buckingham fell by the

¹²¹ Heylyn, 113.¹²² See the prayers *Pro Duce Buckinghamiæ &c.* in Laud's Sum-

marie of Devotions, ut sup. 154—157.

assassin's hand, in 1628, the influence which Laud had by that time acquired in the councils of his Sovereign, permitted him no longer to remain, in the language of his biographer, 'an inferior minister in the ship of State,' entrusted only with 'the trimming of the sails, the super-inspection of the bulgings and leakings of it; but he is called unto the helm, and steers the course thereof by his sage directions'¹²².

Would that he had never been called to the helm, and never essayed to steer the vessel of the State! The melancholy contrast would not then have been supplied, which is now left for us to contemplate, between this description of the vaunted wisdom of the pilot, and the miserable wreck of all that was entrusted to his keeping. Others, indeed, might have failed, like him, to weather the fierce tempest; and, like him, have been denied the privilege of perishing alone. But we should have been spared the humiliating thought, which now is forced upon us, that he, against whom men then clamoured as the cause of their misfortunes, was one, who had been, for nearly a quarter of a century, consecrated to the office of a Bishop of our Church; and, for the greater part of that period, not only her chief spiritual ruler, but the prime administrator of all civil, as well as of all ecclesiastical, affairs.

Neither should we have had to lament the fact, which the sequel of this history will abundantly show,—and the conviction of which has alone in-

¹²² Heylyn, 187.

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duced me to tarry so long upon the present portion of the narrative,—that the difficulties of the Church abroad, both then and afterwards, were as directly identified with the name and acts of the same ruler, as those by which she was laid prostrate at home.

The evils at which I have already glanced, and to which I shall refer more particularly in the following chapters, which befel our Trans-Atlantic colonies, during the administration of Laud, were, briefly, the oppression of Puritans in New England, the neglect of Churchmen in Virginia, and the favour of Romanists in Maryland; and, because I neither palliate nor disguise these, I am the more anxious to show the invalidity of that charge which his enemies pressed against him so eagerly in his day, and which some may think is confirmed by such an admission in our own, that Laud was, in his heart, a believer in all the doctrines, and an abettor of the usurped authority, of the Church of Rome. That there were some ceremonies performed indeed by him which savoured of superstition; which were unauthorized by our Church; by which the minds of many were justly offended and alarmed; and the observance of which therefore must be a subject of sincere regret, there can be no doubt; although, even with respect to some of these, the facts of the case were widely different from those which his accusers represented¹²⁴. It is true, also, that he did not resort to the indignant

¹²⁴ See his account of the Consecration of the Church of St. Catherine Cree, in the History of his Troubles, &c., 339—341.

language, which some would have employed, when he rejected the offer made to him, in 1633, of a Cardinal's hat; but let those, who would pervert this circumstance into an accusation against him, call to mind his own allusion to it upon his trial, when he said, 'If to offer a Cardinal's hat, or any like thing, shall be a sufficient cause to make a man guilty of treason, it shall be in the power of any Romanist to make any English Bishop a traitor when he pleases'¹²⁵. It is not upon such grounds alone that the imputation of apostasy upon the part of Laud can, without shameful injustice, be made to rest. The falsehood of such a charge, we repeat, is proved by the terms in which he answered it, as seen in the record of his memorable speech as a Peer in Parliament, in 1637¹²⁶, and afterwards upon his trial; on both which occasions he proves that some of the acts alleged against him were not true, and successfully vindicates many others from the misconstruction forced upon them. These answers the impartial reader should examine for himself; for it is impossible to abridge them here. But, more than all, the character of Laud's triumphant Conference with Fisher, the Jesuit, in 1622, must ever bear witness to his integrity, as a faithful son of the Church of England. It may be regarded, indeed, as an *à priori* proof, that any accusations, which cast reproach upon that integrity, must have been groundless. I grant that some may now be disposed to admit the reasonableness

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* 389.¹²⁶ Heylyn, 385—341.

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of such a conclusion, who remember with pain, in our own day, that there is one who distinguished himself, in like manner, by a publication against the Church of Rome, at one period of his life, and yet, within a few years afterwards, retracted every word of censure, which, there, or elsewhere, he may have spoken respecting her, and is now an ordained Priest in her Communion. But,—not to dwell upon the many and essential points of difference in the arguments of Laud, in his Conference with Fisher, and those of Newman, in his Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church,—it should be borne in mind that the latter writer has since confessed, that his words of condemnation against Rome, in that and other publications, were, when he delivered them, not so much his own, as those which he believed were authorized by ‘a consensus of the Divines of our Church;’ that he wished ‘to throw himself into their system;’ feeling himself ‘safe,’ as long as he said what they said; and that such views also were ‘necessary for our position’¹⁷. But where can the trace of any such spirit be found in the writings or acts of Laud? He never threw himself into the ranks of the champions of the Reformed Church of England, merely that he might feel himself safe among them, but because truth summoned him to their side; he neither repeated any of their words, nor upheld any of their arguments, merely because they were necessary for

¹⁷ Newman’s Preface to his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. ix.

a position not otherwise defensible, but because his duty to God and His Church could not be discharged without them. His outward profession, therefore, never was in one direction, whilst his affections, perhaps unconsciously, were in another; but, with singleness of heart and purpose, he inwardly adhered to all that he publicly declared. And, for proof of this, we find, that, not only was no argument urged by Laud against Fisher ever retracted, no word of censure which he was constrained to speak against Rome, either then or at any other time, ever repented of; but that he reprinted, in an enlarged form, in 1638,—nearly six years after he had been raised to the Primacy,—the very work which, sixteen years before, had first appeared as the record of that conference. Let this important fact be carefully borne in mind, and be cherished with gratitude, by those who feel,—as all who read the work with attention and impartiality must feel,—that it is one of the noblest vindications of truth which have ever been produced in the controversy between us and Rome. Let the vigilance also, and the boldness with which, in the year preceding this republication, Laud put to confusion the schemes of Panzani, and of Con, the Pope's nuncio, be remembered as another proof of his unswerving integrity with respect to the points at issue between the two Churches. And that the course thus maintained by Laud was not a matter of state policy, but one which he regarded as necessary to defend the individual man from error dangerous to his soul's health, is further evident from the effort which he made, a few

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years before, to win back his godson and friend, William Chillingworth, from that communion with Rome into which he had been seduced by Fisher; and the success of which effort was signally proved by the publication, in 1638, of Chillingworth's immortal work, 'The Religion of Protestants, a safe Way to Salvation ¹²⁸.' It was, doubtless, the recollection of these and other evidences, too numerous to be here recounted ¹²⁹, which, as we are informed by Evelyn, led the English Roman Catholics, in his day, to receive with such satisfaction the tidings which came to them at Rome of Laud's death, as of one who had been their most troublesome enemy ¹³⁰; and, for the same reason, the Roman Catholic historian of this country, in our own day, has frankly acknowledged that, whilst Laud 'wished to retain several religious ceremonies which had been consecrated in his estimation by the practice of Christian antiquity, in every other respect, both his conduct and his writings completely disprove the imputation, that he endeavoured to introduce Popery ¹³¹.'

The events which claim our notice, before we

¹²⁸ Laud alludes to this circumstance, in very touching terms, in the course of his trial, saying, 'Mr. Chillingworth's learning and abilities are sufficiently known to all your Lordships. He was gone, and settled at Douay. My letters brought him back; and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England. And, that this is so, your Lordships cannot but know.'

History of his Troubles, &c. 227. See also Preface to Chillingworth's Works, pp. 4, 5.

¹²⁹ An admirable review of this important subject is given in the ninth chapter of Le Bas's Life of Laud.

¹³⁰ Letter to Tension in Evelyn's Memoirs, iv. 349.

¹³¹ Lingard, x. 286, note, third Ed.

close this chapter, must be referred to very briefly. They are the closing scenes of the tragedy. The Parliament, which had wrought such disastrous ruin unto others, was now fast working its own. The Presbyterian influence, which had become rampant in its ascendancy, began to wax feeble under the superior cunning and audacity of the Independent party. And, when that end was effected, and military violence had become the supreme law, the King himself fell. The steps which led to this shameful issue were few and rapid. The first which may be mentioned, was the passing of the Self-denying Ordinance, which deprived the members of both Houses of their civil and military commands, and thereby threw the chief power into the hands of the Independents and of the army. Cromwell, although a member of the Lower House at the time, and consequently excluded by this ordinance from his office of lieutenant-general, contrived, nevertheless, through the address of Fairfax, to retain it. Under their joint command, the army was remodelled; and the entire defeat of the King's forces at Naseby, soon afterwards, showed with what skill and hardihood they wielded their authority. Then followed the unhappy determination of the King to seek for shelter with the Scottish army, by which act he lost for ever his personal liberty; the discovery and publication of fresh evidences of his duplicity, (supplied in his correspondence with the Queen, and in the terms of the treaty of the Earl of Glamorgan with the Irish Roman Catholics,) which inflamed more and

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Sequel of
the Civil
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more the long cherished hatred of his enemies against him; his controversy with Henderson, at Newcastle, on the subject of Church government¹³²; and, last of all, that compact, by which the Scots consented to deliver up his person to the English Parliament; a compact, which,—coupled as it was with their receipt, about the same time, of four hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of all arrears claimed to be due to them from the English,—it is difficult, if not impossible, to clear from the charge of infamy which oppresses it¹³³.

The Scottish Parliament might vote, as it did immediately afterwards, for the granting of personal liberty to the King, whilst their General Assembly declared, that, as he had refused to take the Covenant, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes¹³⁴; the English Parliament might hesitate to take any step which should either abridge his liberty, or bring him to an untimely end; but the power of the army was supreme, and, with fearful rapidity, bore down all other interests. By the bold counsel of Cromwell, and the activity of Cornet Joyce with his five hundred troopers, the King was seized, June 3, 1647, at Holmby, in Northamptonshire, where he had been placed under the care of the Parliamentary Commissioners, and brought to the head-quarters of the army near Cam-

¹³² For the particulars of this, see Collier, viii. 307—325.

¹³³ For the different versions which may be given of this transaction, compare the last four pages

of Hume's fifty-eighth chapter with Hallam's *Constit. Hist.* ii. 266—269.

¹³⁴ Hume, *ut sup.*

bridge. This blow was followed by the march of the army towards London, where the Parliament, after a brief and feeble resistance, submitted to its absolute control. Eleven of the obnoxious members of the Lower House were expelled; others fled beyond the sea; and the Lord Mayor and chief civic officers of London (who had favoured their interest,) were imprisoned. The Parliament, in fact, was reduced to utter slavery; and the army, which had been called into existence by its voice, was now its tyrant.

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Of the proposals next made to the Royal prisoner, at Hampton Court, it is needless to say more, in this place, than that they were rejected; that he fled thence to the Isle of Wight; and there, after being again compelled to reject the passing of four bills proposed to him by Parliament,—for it was impossible to comply with their terms,—he received the alarming intelligence that no more addresses were to be made to him, and no more messages received from him. These votes, and the still closer imprisonment enforced against the King at Carisbrook, were tokens of the destruction that was at hand. The consummation of it, indeed, was, for a very brief season, deferred, by the renewal of hostilities on the part of Scotland; by insurrections, in various parts of England, in the King's favour; by the temporary return of Presbyterian influence; and the consequent reversal of several of those proceedings in Parliament which had marked the triumph of the Independents. Hence followed the treaty of Newport, (Sept. 18,

CHAP. XIII. 1648,) which insisted upon concessions to be made on the King's part, whereby, had he granted them all, he would have been proved, as he himself said, more an enemy to his people, than by any other action of his life¹³⁵. The concessions which he did make were deemed by a considerable majority of the Lower House a sufficient ground upon which they might proceed for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom. But the military successes of Cromwell brought back fresh courage to the Independents. They forcibly purged the house of all the Presbyterian members¹³⁶; and, with the remnant of their own partizans, amounting to not more than fifty or sixty, arrogated from henceforth, the right of exercising, without any limit or control, all the authority of government.

Execution
of the King.

The liberties of the whole nation being thus laid prostrate, the destruction of him who still retained the title of King became no longer difficult. They who were designing it, however, strove to shelter themselves, as long as they could, under such authority as the degraded Parliament could give to them. Upon a report, made by a committee of the Lower House, it was resolved, that a King who levied war against his Parliament was guilty of treason; and that Charles should be tried upon this charge by a

¹³⁵ Hume, c. lix. vii. 127.

¹³⁶ This occurred Dec. 6, 1648: and only two days before the delivery of Prynne's noble speech in defence of the King. The speech is

given at length in Cobbett's Parliamentary History, iii. 1152; and is the only redeeming act to be found in the proceedings of Parliament in that crisis.

High Court of Justice, expressly appointed for that purpose. The House of Peers,—or, to speak more correctly,—the few who still could be brought to give a mock attendance there, unanimously rejected this resolution. Whereupon, the Commons, casting away the profession of all regard for any other power than their own, declared that whatsoever they chose to enact, was lawful; and issued the ordinance for the public trial of the King. The majestic dignity with which Charles refused to acknowledge the authority of his self-appointed judges; and the abortive efforts to save him from this outrage by many who had been his chief opponents¹³⁷; the patience with which he endured all insults; and the devout composure with which, yielding to the unrighteous sentence passed upon him, he at length met death upon the scaffold;—these need not to be related; for they are held in memory by all men. They filled the hearts of the people that witnessed them with deepest shame, and grief, and pity; and the recollection of them renews the same feelings in our own.

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The voice of the tyrant speedily proclaimed, in the ears of the bewildered nation, the end for which these deeds of violence had been done; and the formal abolition of the House of Peers, and of the Monarchy, proclaimed his usurpation to be, for the time, complete. This was the sad issue of the strug-

¹³⁷ Witness the remonstrance of names, &c. are given by Collier, the Presbyterian ministers whose viii. 356—358.

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gle. Yet, men could cheat themselves with words, in that miserable extremity. And, when the iron heel of despotism had trodden down, amid the ruins of the Throne, their dearest birthrights; and the Church was, as Laud, in his dying hour, had described it, 'like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body, and at every cleft profaneness and irreligion entering in¹²⁸;' they could be led away by the wild ardour of the fanatic, or the assumed sanctity of the hypocrite, and offer, with complacent looks, their praises unto God, for the blessings of restored freedom!

¹²⁸ See his Speech upon the scaffold, appended to his Summarie of Devotions, ut sup. p. 230.

CHAPTER XIV.

VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, AND THE BERMUDAS, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1625—1660.

VIRGINIA—Proclamation of Charles the First—The rapid succession of governors—Lord Baltimore's visit and departure, 1629—Harvey's oppressive government—Acts and Orders of the General Assembly respecting the Church—Constitution of Parishes—Evil consequences of such legislation to the Church—MARYLAND granted to Lord Baltimore, 1632—Terms of its Charter—Reflections thereon—The departure of the expedition—Proceedings of Leonard Calvert and the first settlers in Maryland—Its equitable plan of government and religious toleration—Except in the case of slaves—Its enactment touching the Church—Clayborne's disturbances—Retrospect of the affairs of Virginia from Harvey's first government, 1629—Evil consequences of Harvey's rule, especially to the Church—Harvey recalled, and Wyatt reappointed, 1638-9—His Instructions respecting the Church—Berkeley first appointed governor, 1640-1—Indian War—Death of Opechancanough—Acts respecting the Church, 1644-5—Laws against Popish Recusants and Nonconformists—Sympathy of some Virginians with the Puritans checked—Remarkable Petition of Castell to Parliament, 1641—Sanderson's name connected with it—Increasing difficulties of Virginia—She resists the Commonwealth—Submits in 1651—Articles of Surrender—Acts of the Assembly respecting Indian Children, Parishes, and Ministers, 1654-7—Acts for restraining crime and observing the Sabbath—Loyalty of Virginia—Berkeley reappointed governor, 1659-60—Philip Mallory—Act against Quakers—Maryland during the Protectorate—THE BERMUDAS.

It is impossible to turn with hopeful feelings to the contemplation of the Colonies of England, or

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the position which the Church occupied in any of them, at a time when such humiliating and disastrous scenes, as those described in the preceding chapter, were enacted. Like conflicts, followed by the like overthrow of sacred authority, must be looked for, in every region to which the British rule extended, in that unhappy day. In each of them, too, specific elements of disturbance were at work, varying according to the various character of the country and its inhabitants, and thereby aggravating those miseries which the divisions of the mother country generated in her infant settlements abroad.

It will be my object to describe these, as briefly and impartially as I can.

VIRGINIA.

And, first, let us turn to the first Colony which England had planted in the American Continent,—Virginia. The reader will bear in mind, that, towards the close of James the First's reign, the Virginia Company had been dissolved, and a commission issued, under the Great Seal, by which Sir Francis Wyatt was appointed to continue in the government, and Sir George Yeardley, and West, and others, (whose names were associated with its earliest history,) in the council of that Colony¹.

Proclamation
of
Charles the
First.

A Proclamation issued by Charles the First, May 13, 1625,—a few months after his accession,—declares that the above arrangement was only provisional; and that the entire property and government of Virginia were vested in the Crown. After

¹ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

enumerating the ends for which the Colony had been planted by his father, namely, 'the Propagation of Christian Religion, the Increase of Trade, and the inlarging of his Royall Empire;' and reciting the failure of those ends through the alleged misconduct of the Virginia Company; its consequent abolition; and the reduction of all its rights and privileges under the sole authority of the Crown; the Proclamation goes on to state, in the following terms, the course to be pursued hereafter: 'Wee doe by these Presents publish and declare to all our lovinge Subjectes, and to the whole World, that Wee hould those Territories of Virginia and the Summer Islandes, as also thae of New-England, where our Collonies are alreadye planted, and within the Lymittes and Boundes whereof our late deare Father, by his Letters-patents, under his Great Seale of England remayninge of Record, hath given Leave and Libertie to his Subjects, to plant and inhabite, to be a Parte of our Royall Empire disceded uppon Us, and undoubtedlie belonging and apperteyninge unto Us, and that Wee hould Our Selfe as well-bound by our Royall Office to protecte, maynteyne, and support the same, and are soe resolved to doe, as anie other Part of our Domynions: And that our full Resolution is, that there maie be one uniforme Course of Government in and through all our whole Monarchie; That the Government of the Collonie of Virginia shall ymmediately depend uppon Our Selfe, and not be commytted to anie Company, or Corporation, to whome itt maie be

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proper to trust Matters of Trade and Commerce, but cannot be fitt or safe to communicate the ordering of State Affaires be they of never soe meane Consequence: and that therefore, Wee have determyned that our Commissioners for those Affaires shall proceede according to the Tenor of Our Commission directed unto them, until Wee shall declare Our further Pleasure therein.' The Proclamation further states the royal intention to appoint a Council in England, for the immediate supervision of the affairs of the Colony, whose proceedings should be subject to the Privy Council; and another Council for the same purpose to be resident in Virginia, and subordinate to the Council at home; and to maintain, at the cost of the Crown, the public offices and fortifications necessary for the control and defence of the Colony².

The high character of Wyatt, to whom the government of Virginia under the Crown was thus delegated, and the wise and faithful tenor of those Articles of Instruction by which, it has been already stated, his course in former years was ordered to be controlled³, might have excited a good hope, that, notwithstanding the grievous afflictions which had oppressed that province⁴, happiness was yet in store for her. But, if such hope for a moment cheered the hearts of any, it was speedily dissipated. Before the termination of James's reign, Wyatt's

² Hazard, i. 203—205.

³ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

⁴ Ibid. in loc.

father died in Ireland; and the earliest commission, addressed by Charles the First to Yeardley, and others, of the Virginia Council, recites the fact of the death of the elder Wyatt, and empowers the son to resign his government of the province, if he wished it, into the hands of Yeardley, and return home⁵. Wyatt soon availed himself of this permission; and Yeardley,—who, it may be remembered, had succeeded Sir Thomas Dale, in 1616, as deputy governor, and, again, upon the recall of Argall, in 1619, had been appointed chief governor⁶;—was now, for the third time, entrusted with the management of the Colony. He died soon afterwards, in November, 1627⁷.

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Thus, in little more than two years from the time in which Virginia had become the exclusive property of the British Crown, she was twice exposed to the evil of a change of governors;—an evil, at all times great, but fraught with especial mischief to a Colony beset with difficulties such as hers. She could ill spare, at such a moment, the head that could devise, or the hand that could execute, measures needful for her welfare. Nor was the loss of such faithful friends as Wyatt and Yeardley⁸ had

The rapid
succession of
governors.

⁵ Hazard, i. 230—234.

⁶ Vol. i. chap. ix. and x. in loc.

⁷ Hening's Statutes of Virginia, i. 4.

⁸ Robertson describes Yeardley as a man of despotic character, and therefore a fit instrument to enforce that system of arbitrary rule which Charles had committed to his hands. Works, xi. 229. There

is no foundation, I believe, for this statement. All the authentic notices of Virginia, at this time, concur in giving a favourable report of Yeardley's character; and, so far from wishing to keep every thing under his own arbitrary control, I have distinctly shown, in my first Volume, c. x. in loc. that, during the government of Yeard-

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proved themselves to be, her only misery. A positive curse was inflicted upon her by another commission, which had been issued before the death of Yeardeley, and dated March 26, 1627, which appointed Sir John Harvey to the office of Governor, whensoever it might become vacant, and William Clayborne to the office of Secretary⁹.

Harvey was not in Virginia, at the time of Yeardeley's death; and, until his arrival from England, Francis West,—brother of the good Lord De la Warr¹⁰,—who had been a distinguished member of the Colony from the first settlement of James Town¹¹, was entrusted with its government. Upon his death, which took place soon afterwards, another member of the Council was appointed in his room¹².

ley in 1619, he established and convened the House of Assembly, consisting of representatives who were to be sent from the several Boroughs or Townships in the Province.

⁹ Hazard, i. 234—239. Clayborne had gone out, in the first instance, to Virginia with Wyatt, in 1621, 'to survey the planters' lands, and make a map of the country.' Hening, i. 116; and was soon afterwards admitted to the Council, as appears from the Commission in James's reign, dated August 16, 1624. Hazard, i. 189.

¹⁰ I take this opportunity of correcting a strange blunder committed by Miss Aikin, with respect to this nobleman, in her *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the First*, i. 29. She speaks of him as 'a Catholic,'—meaning thereby a member of the Church of Rome,—who 'had established' a planta-

tion 'in Virginia.' Both these statements are erroneous. He was certainly the first who bore the title of Captain General in that Colony; but the plantation, as we have seen, was established by others. And, so far from being in communion with Rome, abundant testimony has been supplied, in the ninth chapter of my first Volume, to prove his zeal and devotedness as a member of the Church of England. I ought sooner to have pointed out this error, which, from the writer's usual accuracy, might mislead many of her readers; but I had not detected it when the former Volume passed through the press.

¹¹ Vol. i. chapters viii. and x. in loc.

¹² His name was John Pott, and his career was soon ended by his being found guilty of stealing cattle. Hening, i. 145. In the list

A repetition, therefore, of the evils incident to a frequent succession of governors again took place; and Clayborne, who, amid all these changes, ceased not to hold the important office of Secretary, had the better opportunity thereby of effecting his sinister purposes. That he was not slow to profit by the opportunity thus afforded to him, is evident from the efforts which he made to aggrandize himself by making fresh discoveries and appropriating the profits to his own use. He obtained from the governors of Virginia, during the years 1627-9, authority to explore Chesapeak Bay, or any other part of the Virginian territory from the 34th to the 41st degree of latitude; and, in 1631, a royal licence was granted to him, authorizing him to traffic in those parts of America for which there was already no patent granted for sole trade¹³. The footing which Clayborne was thereby enabled to gain in portions of territory soon afterwards made over to Maryland, was, as the sequel will show, the source of many troubles, both to that Colony and to Virginia. And, on that account, attention has been drawn to it, for a moment, as we pass along.

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During the interval which elapsed before Harvey entered upon his government, Lord Baltimore made his first visit to Virginia, with the view of settling there. The high character and influence of this

Lord Baltimore's visit and departure, 1629.

of members of the Councils at this time, occurs the name of William farrar [Ferrar], *Ib.* i. 137; a relative of those distinguished officers

of the Virginia Company John and Nicholas Ferrar, of whom I have spoken in my first Volume.

¹³ Chalmers, 206 and 227—228.

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nobleman, his former attempts to plant a Colony in Newfoundland, and his resignation of the office of Secretary of State under James the First, in consequence of having entered into communion with the Church of Rome, are facts which I have already noticed¹⁴. Upon arriving in Virginia, in March, 1628-9, he was required by the Council to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance; an act, be it observed, not less demanded by the laws of the mother country than of the Colony; which the difficulties of the times continued to make imperative¹⁵; and from which there appeared no special ground upon which Lord Baltimore could justly claim exemption. He refused, nevertheless, to take the oath; and returned to England, that he might obtain, through another channel, the liberty which he desired to possess of planting a Colony in America¹⁶.

Harvey's
oppressive
government.

Scarcely had Lord Baltimore left Virginia before Sir John Harvey arrived as Governor. He had upon a former occasion visited the Colony, as one of the commissioners appointed by the Privy Council in 1624, to examine into the charges which certain parties at home had brought against the Company; and it has

¹⁴ Vol. i. c. xi. in loc.

¹⁵ It is justly remarked by Hal- lam, with respect to this oath, that, 'except by cavilling at one or two words, it seemed impossible for the Roman Catholics to decline so reasonable a test of loyalty, without justifying the worst suspicions of Protestant jealousy.' *Constit. Hist.* i. 556.

¹⁶ During Lord Baltimore's re-

sidence in Virginia, his personal rights were duly respected, as appears from the following extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Governor and Council: 'March 25, 1630, Tho. Tindall to be pillory'd 2 hours for giving my Ld. Baltimore the lye, and threatening to knock him down.' *Hening*, i. 552.

been already stated that the proceedings of himself and his associate at that time were marked by the most unfair spirit; that they had attempted, but in vain, to induce the House of Assembly to surrender the rights secured to them under their Charter; and, by the report which they made upon their return to England, had greatly promoted the oppressive measures then in progress for the dissolution of the Company¹⁷. Little good was to be hoped for by the Colony at the hands of such a man. And so the event proved. He ruled the province with a rod of iron. Those rigorous laws, which enforced, under heavy penalties, attendance upon Church ordinances, and which former governors, it has been observed¹⁸, had wisely suffered to remain a dead letter, were now executed with strictest severity. The kind and considerate feeling, which had been manifested towards the Puritans, by some of the most faithful members of the Church who directed the counsels of the Virginia Company¹⁹, was now utterly disowned. Their settlement in the province was no longer tolerated. And not only were fresh laws enacted for their exclusion; but, against all inhabitants of the Colony, who were suspected of showing any sympathy with or favour towards Puritans, the same terrors were forthwith set in array, which, issuing from the Star Chamber and High Commission Court at home, filled, as we have seen, so

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¹⁷ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

¹⁸ Ibid. Buck, in his History of Virginia, Appendix i. 310—314, describes also in the strongest terms the forbearance and hu-

manity which distinguished the preceding governors of the province.

¹⁹ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

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Acts and Orders of the General Assembly respecting the Church.

Before I glance at the course of these proceedings, it may be useful to take a brief survey of the Acts and Orders relative to the Church which were passed, during the same period, by the General Assembly of Virginia. Hening, to whose industrious and careful researches we are mainly indebted for any accurate information upon this subject, has observed, that the very first pages of the Virginia Statute Book, and the Acts of every Session prior to the American Revolution, are devoted to the cause of religion and Church government²⁰. Those which were passed by the General Assembly during the former reign, have been already recited, and amply bear out the truth of this remark²¹.

In 1629, before the arrival of Harvey from England, I find the two following Acts passed under the same authority. The former of them ordered :

Penalties for not going to Church.

That there bee an especial care taken by all commanders and others that the people doe repaire to their churches on the Saboth day, and to see that the penalty of one pound of tobacco for every time of absence and 50 pound of tobacco for every month's absence sett down in the act of the Generall Assembly 1623, be levyed and the delinquents to pay the same, as also to see that the Saboth day be not ordinarily profaned by workeing in any employments or by iourneying from place to place.

Observance of the Sabbath.

The latter declared it to be

Tithes.

Thought fitt that all those that worke in the ground, of what qualitie or condition soever, shall pay tithes to the ministers²².

²⁰ Preface to first edition, i. xiv.

²¹ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

²² Hening, i. 144.

And here it may be remarked, that the former of these two Acts presents unequivocal proof, that, among the ruling members of the Church in Virginia, at this time, no sympathy at all existed, upon so important a matter as that of the observance of the Lord's Day, with her rulers at home; who, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, were then wounding the consciences of those of her members who believed in the Divine authority of that day, by the republication of King James's Book of Sports. CHAP.
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The earliest Acts of the first General Assembly, convened after the arrival of Harvey in the Colony, 1631-2, are all likewise connected with the administration or support of the Church; and they are here laid before the reader in their original form²³, as the best way of representing the matter and the spirit of legislation with reference to such subjects in that day.

I. *It is ordered*, That there bee a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstance to the cannons and constitution of the Church of England as neare as may bee, and that every person yeald readie obedience unto them upon penaltie of the paynes and forfeitures in that case appoynted. Uniformity.

II. That the statutes for comminge to church every Sunday and holydays bee duly executed. That is to say; that the Penalty for absence.

²³ I have followed Hening's example in strictly preserving the orthography in which the laws were written; believing, with him, that 'in no other way can the history of a language be accurately traced; nor is there any circumstance which more clearly distinguishes a genuine from a spurious paper. Nothing (he adds) can

be more improper, in transcribing from an original, than to vary the spelling of the words to suit the fluctuations of a living language; it would be just as proper for a painter, in copying the picture of an ancient Turk with his mustachoes, to give him the beardless face of a modern American Indian.' Preface to first edition, p. xi.

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church-wardens doe levy one shilling for every tyme of any person's absence from the church havinge no lawfull or reasonable excuse to bee absent. And for due execution hereof the Governor and Councill together with the burgesses of this grand-assembly doe in Gods name earnestlie require and chardge all commanders, captaynes and church-wardens that they shall endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledge that the due and true execution hereof may be done and had through this colony, as they will answer before God for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may iustlie punish his people for neglectinge this good and wholesome laue.

Presentments and Registers.

III. That as many of the mynisters as convenientlie may, and one of the church-wardens at least, of every parish be present yearlie at midsomer quarter cort holden on the first day of June; and there to make their presentments uppon oath, together with a register of all burials, christenings, and marriages, as likewise their accounts of all levyes, collections and disbursements as have beene or fallen out in their tymes concerninge the church affayres. And further that they choose church-wardens at the feast of Easter yearlie.

Oath of Church-wardens.

IV. *And it is further ordered and thought expedient*, according to a former order made, by the governor and councill that all church-wardens shall take this oath and that it bee admynistered before those that are of the commission for mounthlie corts, viz. "You shall sweare that you shall make presentments of all such persons as shall lead a prophayne or ungodlie life, of such as shall be common swearers, drunkards or blasphemers, that shall ordinarilie profane the saboth dayes, or contemne Gods holy word or sacraments. You shall also present all adulterers or fornicators, or such as shall abuse their neighbors by slandering tale carryinge or back bitinge, or that shall not behave themselves orderlie and soberlie in the church during devyne servise. Likewise they shall present such maysters and mistrisses as shall be delinquent in the catechisinge the youth and ignorant persons. So helpe yow God!"

Penalty for disparaging a minister.

V. Noe man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishioners may be alienated from him and his mynistrie

prove less effectually upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell.

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VI. No mynister shall celebrate matrimony betweene any persons without a facultie or lycense graunted by the Governor, except the baynes of matrimony have bene first published three severall Sundays or holydays in the time of devyne service in the parish churches where the sayd persons dwell according to the booke of common prayer, neither shall any mynister under any pretense whatsoever ioyne any persons so licenced in marriage at any unseasonable tymes but only betweene the howers of eight and twelve in the forenoone, nor when banes are thrice asked, and no lycense in that respect necessarie, before the parents or guardians of the parties to be married beinge under the age of twenty and one yeares, shall either personally or by sufficient testimony signifie unto him their consents given to the said marriage.

Rites of
matrimony.

VII. Every mynister in this colony havinge cure of soules shall preach one sermon every sunday in the yeare, having no lawful impediment, and yf the mynisters shall neglect their charge by unnecessary absence or otherwise the church-wardens are to present it. But because in this colony the places of their cure are in many places ffar distant, *It is thought fitt* that the mynisters doe soe divide their turnes as by joynt agreement of the parishoners they should be desired.

Duties of
ministers.

VIII. That upon every Sunday the mynister shall half an houre or more before evenenge prayer examine, catechise, and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parrish, in the ten commandments the articles of the believe and in the Lord's prayer; and shall diligentlie heere, instruct and teach them the catechisme, sett forth in the booke of common prayer. And all fathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses shall cause their children, servants or apprentizes which have not learned the catechisme to come to the church at the tyme appointed, obedientlie to heare, and to be ordered by the mynister untill they have learned the same: And yf any of the sayd ffathers, mothers, maysters and mistrisses, children, servants or apprentises, shall neglect their duties as the one sorte in not causing them to come

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and the other in refusing to learne as aforesayd, they shall be censured by the corts in those places holden. And this act to take begininge at Easter next.

IX. When any person is dangerouslie sicke in any parrish, the mynister haveinge knowledge thereof shall resort unto him or her to instruct and comfort them in their distresse.

X. In every parrish church within this Colony shall be kept by the mynister a booke wherein shall be written the day and yeare of every christeninge, weddinge, and buriall.

XI. Mynisters shall not give themselves to excesse in drinkinge or riott, spendinge their tyme idellye by day or night, playinge at dice, cards, or any other unlauffull game; but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doinge the thinges which shall apperteyne to honesty, and endeavour to profitt the church of God, alwayes haveinge in mynd that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianlie.

XII. In every parish church where sacraments are to be admynistered within this colony, the holi communion shall be admynistred by the mynister thrice in the yeare, whereof the feast of Easter to be one.

XIII. And all preachinge, admynistringe of the communion, and marriages shall be done in the church except in cases of necessitie.

Further
allowance to
ministers.

XIV. The governour and counsell together with the burgisses in this present grand assembly, uppon the petition of the mynisters within this colony, have taken into their consideration by what waye their might be a sufficient meanes allowed unto the said mynisters for their better subsistance and encouragement in their mynistrie; and thereupon have ordeyned and enacted that there shall be payd unto the sayd mynisters the former allowance of 10lb of tobaccoe and a bushell of corne, in such manner as formerlie hath beene done; and because of the lowe rates of tobacco at this present *It is further graunted and ordered*, that their shall be likewise due to the mynisters from the first day of

March next ensuing the 20th calfe, the 20th kidd of goates, and the 20th pigge, throughout all plantations within this colony; and that there may arise no difficultie nor controversie in the payment of this new allowance of meanes, *It is thought fitt and ordered*, That where any parishioners shall not have the complete number of 20 calves, kidds or piggs, then the number which hath fallen att the feast of Easter shall be prayed and rated betweene the mynisters and one or more of his parishioners, and the 20th part thereof allowed to the mynister proportionably; but yf it fall out the number of calves, kidds or piggs arise to twenty then the owner is to choose five out of the sayd number and the mynister to make his choyse in the sixt place, and *it is thought fitt* that the owners keep the sayd calves, kidds or piggs until the time they bee weanable, that is to say, for calves the owner to keepe them 7 weekes, and kidds likewise 7 weeks and piggs a month. And the parishioners are to give notice to the mynisters when they shall fetch their calves, kidds or piggs that be due unto them. And this act to continue in force, untill the next meetinge of the grand assembly, at which tyme there may fall out just cause of alteration either by the advancement of tobacco or some other meanes, for that formerlie the ancient allowance of 10lb of tobacco and a bushell of corne hath bene a sufficient proportion for their maynteynance in their callinge.

It is likewise ordered, That the mynister shall have these petty duties as followeth, viz. :

Imprimis.	For Marriage	2	0
	for Christeninge	0	0
	for Churchinge	1	0
	for Buryinge	1	0

It is ordered, That upon the 25th day of October if it be not Sunday, and then the day followinge, the church-wardens shall give notice to the parishioners, that they bringe in the dutie of 10lb of tobacco for the mynisters unto a place to be appoynted within that plantation by the sayd church-wardens, and that the mynister bee warned to be there or appoynt some other to receive

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the same. *And it is likewise ordered*, That the dutie of a bushell of corne be brought in uppon the 19th day of December to the place appoynted within that plantation by the mynister. And no planter or pariahioner may neglect the bringinge of the tobacco, or come uppon the penalty that yf any make default they shall forfeit double the quantitie of the tobacco and corne to be levied by distresse by authoritie from the commander; and likewise, by distresse, all arrearages of tobaccoe and corn due to the mynisters shall or may be recovered by virtue of this order of the assembly. And yf the church-wardens shall fayle in the execution of their office hereby inioyned then the commander shall take order that it be levied by distresse out of the church-wardens goods and chattells.

Churches to
be built and
repaired.

XV. *It is ordeyned and enacted* that in all such places where any churches are wantinge, or decayed, the inhabitants shall be tyed to contribute towards the buildinge of a church, or repayringe any decayed church, the commissioniers, together with the mynisters, church-wardens and chiefe of the parish to appoynt both the most convenient place for all parts to assemble together, and also to hire and procure any workeman, and order such necessaries as are requisite to be done in such workes. This they are to effect before the feast of the nativitie of our Saviour Christ, or else the sayd commissioniers, yf they be deficient in their duties, to forfeit £50 in money, to be employed as the whole bodie of the Assembly shall dispose.

And it is ordered in like manner, That there be a certayne portion of ground appoynted out, and impaled or fenced in (uppon the penalty of twenty Marques) to be for the buriall of the dead.

Attendance
of the Council
at Divine
Service.

XVIII. *It is ordered*, that all the counsell and burgisses of the assembly shall, in the morninge, be present at devine service, in the roome where they sitt, at the third beatinge of the drum, an hower after sun rise, uppon the penaltie of one shillinge to the benefitt of the marshall at James Citty; and yf any shall absent himselfe from the assembly, to pay 2s. 6d. to the same use; and yf any shall after neglect, to be fined by the whole

bodie of the assembly. And this act to continue in force untill the assembly shall see cause to revoke it²⁴.

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The only other Act, passed during the same session, which calls for observation, is one which reappointed the 22nd day of March to be observed annually as a solemn holiday, in commemoration of deliverance from the bloody massacre by Opechancanough in 1621-2²⁵.

Most of the above Acts are recited in the proceedings of the Grand Assembly, held in September, 1632, and, again, in February, 1632-3: but in the latter, one is added, which deserves remark, since it makes provision for the office of Deacon. The words are,

In such places where the extent of the cure of any mynister is so large that he cannot be present himselfe on the Saboth dayes and other holy days, *It is thought fitt*, That they appoynt and allow mayntenance for deacons where any havinge taken orders can be found for the readinge common prayer in their absence²⁶.

Appointment
of Deacons.

During the session of 1639-40, two new Parishes were constituted,—Chiskiack and Lawn's Creek²⁷. The boundaries of the latter were altered in the session of 1642-3, in consequence of the inability of the inhabitants to maintain a minister of their own, and to contribute (as they had been required to do) to the minister of James City, whence they

Constitution
of Parishes.

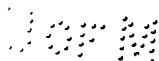
²⁴ Hening, i. 155—162. In the list of the General Assembly which passed the above Acts, the name of William Clayborne occurs, for the first time, with the prefix of captain.

been originally appointed, March, 1623-4. Ibid. 123. For an account of the massacre which it was designed to commemorate, see the tenth chapter of my first Volume.

²⁵ Ibid. 177. The observance had

²⁶ Hening, i. 208.

²⁷ Ibid. 228, 229.



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received no spiritual benefit²⁸. Other Parishes were also, from time to time, constituted, as it is stated in one of the Acts passed for that purpose, 'for the better enabling of the inhabitants of this colony to the religious worship and service of Almighty God, which is often neglected and slackened by the inconvenience and remote vastness of parishes²⁹.' Their names and boundaries, and other particulars connected with them, are to be found in the proceedings of the Grand Assembly; and, indeed, hardly any session appears to have been held in which there was not the constitution of a new Parish or the alteration of an old one; but the recital of these matters now is superfluous. The fact of such appointments having been made at all is referred to only for the purpose of showing the attention paid to this subject, for many years, by the rulers of Virginia.

Evil consequences of such legislation to the Church.

It is obvious, however, that the enactment of such laws was but a part, and that not the most important, for securing to the inhabitants of the province the blessings of Christianity. They were instruments indeed to make the Church of England the established Church of her first Colony in America; but nothing more. And, if the ministrations of that Gospel of which the Church is 'both a witness and a keeper³⁰,' were not found, at the same time, operating, in all their fulness and integrity, within her borders; if men, devoted, holy, and self-denying, were not seen labouring in the several fields of mi-

²⁸ Ibid. 278.

²⁹ Ibid. 250.

³⁰ Article XX.

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nisterial duty which the votes of the Assembly marked out for them; if the spiritual rulers, from whose hands they received their authority to teach, were not at hand to guide, to encourage, to warn, or, if need were, to reprove the ministers; it is plain that the framework of an establishment would be set up only to provoke the indignant clamour of the disaffected, whilst they who desired to be nourished and refreshed by its blessed ordinances would be left destitute and discouraged. It was not the enactment of pains and penalties that could evangelize any portion of the earth. It was not the calling over the congregation of worshippers by a muster-roll, to be summoned by beat of drum, and to be kept together by fines, that could make a plantation fragrant "as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed"³¹. The allowance of tobacco and of corn, and the tithe of calves, and kids, and pigs, could be regarded only as so many tokens of injustice and oppression, if, whilst they were set forth and exacted with such nice precision, the same care were not exercised to ensure the faithful and constant discharge of duties, in consideration of which alone those offerings were demanded.

Upon looking then to the steps, taken by the government to ensure the performance of such duties, it will be found that the only control brought to bear upon ordained ministers in the Colony was that of the secular power. The following passage occurs in an Act, passed in March 1642-3, not long after the

³¹ Gen. xvii. 27.

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arrival of Sir William Berkeley as Governor. Having provided that all former orders and constitutions concerning Church government should remain in full force, it enjoins

Visitation of
ministers.

That there be a yearly meeting of the ministers and churchwardens before the commander and com'rs of every county court in nature of a visitation according to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England which is there usually held every yeare after Christmas.

The appointment and removal of ministers are also provided for, under the same Act, in the following manner :

Their ap-
pointment
and removal.

That the vestrie of evrie parish with the allowance of the commander and com'rs of the county living and resideing within the said parish, or the vestrie alone in case of their non residence, shall from henceforward have power to elect and make choyce of their ministers, And he or they so elected by the commander and com'rs, or by the vestrie, in case of non residence as aforesaid, to be recommended and presented to the said commander and com'rs, or vestrie alone, to the Governor and so by him admitted, Provided that it shall be lawfull for the Gov^r for the time being to admit and elect such a minister as he shall allow of in James-Citty parish. And in any parish where the Governour and his successors shall have a plantation, provided he or they enjoy not that priviledge but in one parish where he or they have such a plantation, And vpon the neglect or misbecomeing behaviour of the ministers or any of them, compl't thereof being made by the vestrie, The Governour and Council are requested so to proceed against such minister or ministers by suspension or other punishment as they shall think fitt and the offence require. Removeall of such ministers to be left to the Grand Assembly²².

The provisions above recited, touching the appoint-

²² Hening, i. 240—242.

ment of ministers, are such as might not unreasonably be expected to have been made, under the circumstances in which the different Parishes were constituted. But, it will be at once seen, that they contained in themselves the elements of much evil: and, indeed, there can hardly be imagined a mode of proceeding more likely to involve the Church in difficulty, or to cast reproach upon the doctrines of which she was the depositary, than to entrust, in every Parish, throughout a newly formed Colony such as Virginia was, the election of its minister to the will of each Vestry. The single exception made in favour of the chief Parish of James City, where the appointment of the minister was vested in the Governor for the time being, was only calculated to aggravate the evil still more. And, if these were the serious errors, committed at the very outset of our Colonial legislation, with respect to the appointment of ministers; what shall be said of those contained in the enactments for the removal of negligent unworthy ministers? It was only requisite, as it appears, that a complaint be made against any minister by a Vestry, and the Governor and Council were forthwith empowered to proceed against him, by suspension, or such other punishment as they might think fit; and the Grand Assembly had the power of removing him altogether. For the regulation of many matters relating to the Clergy, such control was, no doubt, valid and sufficient; and the exercise of it, in all others which concerned them only as citizens, would have been unobjectionable. But its injustice,

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when regarded as the only method of controlling the Clergy in every department of their duties, was obviously very great. For the Vestry might complain of doctrines which were Scriptural, or of practices which were Apostolic; the Governor and Council, as ignorant it might be as the Vestry, would pass their sentence of suspension; and the Grand Assembly, superior only in power, not in knowledge, to either the Council or the Vestry, would, by their final sentence, ratify all that had been done. At no stage of the process was any security given to the minister, that the merits of the complaint lodged against him should be determined before a competent tribunal. He was liable, for spiritual offences, to be tried by judges purely secular. Thus, truth was exposed at every turn to outrage, and the means of vindicating it were withheld. A minister of the Church in Virginia was hereby placed in a position, not only essentially inferior to that retained by his brethren in England, but inferior even to that which any non-conforming minister would have claimed as his own undoubted right. For, whatsoever may have been the severity practised against non-conformists by the rulers with whose ordinances they refused to conform, in that day and country, they had at least the consolation of knowing, that, in matters between themselves and others whose opinions coincided with their own, any complaint, preferred against them for erroneous teaching or practice in respect of such opinions, would be examined and decided upon only by such persons as were recognized by themselves

competent to discharge that office. To the Clergy of Virginia, this right was denied. They looked in vain for the presence of any one who, bearing the same commission and exercising the same office with themselves, had authority to direct them in the discharge of their high trust. The Bishop, from whom they received authority to 'preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the congregation,' whereunto they should 'be lawfully appointed²³,' was not at hand to defend them from wrong, or lead them on to right. Nor was any ecclesiastical officer, delegated by the Bishop to exercise authority in his name, found in the province, throughout the whole of this reign. The sole power, which governed the Clergy, was that of the Grand Assembly, the agents whom they appointed, and the Vestries of their respective Parishes. The gross injustice of such an arrangement, and the grievous ills consequent upon it, will be seen hereafter.

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The question here forces itself upon our attention, To whom is this state of things to be ascribed? The Proclamation of Charles the First, at his accession, already cited, had declared the government of Virginia to be dependent immediately upon himself; and, during the greater part of the seventeen years which had elapsed, between the date of that Proclamation and the time at which the proceedings of the Grand Assembly last referred to took place, the counsels of

²³ See the Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests in the Prayer Book.

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the King's government, at home and abroad, were not only directed by Laud, but directed at his will and pleasure without the intervention of Parliament. It is impossible, therefore, not to admit that the blame of exposing the Church in Virginia to evils such as these, rests mainly, if not entirely, upon that Prelate. He could entertain, as we have seen, the project of sending out a Bishop to New England to keep down the Puritans who flocked thither, and of backing 'him with forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade obedience³⁴;' but to supply the Churchmen of Virginia with that help to which their zeal, and love, and patience so eminently entitled them, and the want of which was nothing less than to defraud both ministers and people in that land of their spiritual birthright, seems not once to have entered into his thoughts.

The only argument, as far as I can see, which might be urged in excuse of such treatment, is that the disturbed state of affairs at home prevented our rulers from giving the requisite attention to what was passing in Virginia. But even this argument is taken away; for, early in 1632, a Commission was issued by the King to the Earl of Dorset and others, appointing them a Council of superintendance of Virginia, to ascertain the state of its laws, commerce, and government, and to report thereon to him³⁵.

³⁴ See p. 29 of this volume.

³⁵ Burk's History of Virginia, ii. 35. It is remarkable, that, in this Commission, occur the names of Nicholas and John Ferrar; a

circumstance, which, taken in connection with that which I have already pointed out in a note at p. 89, shows the great interest which that family still took in the

And in vain are the traces to be discovered of any attempt made by these Commissioners to remedy the evils which we have pointed out. CHAP. XIV.

It would have been humiliation enough to have made this acknowledgment, even if it comprised all which the truth forces us to admit, touching the course of government, upon such matters, in that day. But another measure remains to be described, the effects of which could not fail to be most dangerous and discouraging to our Church throughout the whole of the American Colonies. And this was the manner in which the new province of Maryland was constituted. In New England, we repeat, the only design with which the mission of a Bishop to her shores had been ever contemplated, was one which, had it been realized, would have cast the heaviest reproach upon his office, and awakened fierce resistance against any exercise of its power. In Virginia, where the services of the Episcopal office were required, and would have been gratefully received, its institution was never thought of. But, now, Charles and his counsellors erected a third Colony, in which they deprived themselves of the power of treating either the Puritan with rigour, or the Churchman with indifference, only by consigning the property and government of the whole of the

Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore, 1632.

affairs of Virginia. Another instance to the same effect will be found, in a later chapter in this Volume, when I come to notice the circumstances which led to our first settlement of Carolina. I find also the name of Captain W. Farrar, recorded as representative of Henrico, as late as the year 1667. Burk, ii. 140.

CHAP. newly defined territory, with the amplest powers
 XIV. and prerogatives, into the hands of a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore.

The reader has already been informed of the high character and enterprising spirit of this nobleman; and of his recent failure to gain a footing in Virginia, in consequence of his refusal to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance. And, connecting these facts with those which have been noticed in the preceding chapter touching the favour which, in spite of stringent laws and solemn promises, Charles was accused of manifesting towards Roman Catholics, he will see, in the successful suit which Baltimore now addressed to that sovereign, a remarkable instance of the unjust policy which provoked such complaints. The general grounds of that injustice I have already pointed out³⁶. A more signal illustration of it than that supplied in the particular instance now about to be related, can hardly be imagined. An English nobleman sets foot upon a Colony in which his countrymen are already settled; surveys the vastness and fertility of its territory; desires to obtain a portion of it for himself; finds that he is prohibited alike by the laws of the province and of his native country, from obtaining his object, unless he take the oath of supremacy; and, refusing to take that oath³⁷, returns home and secures,

³⁶ See pp. 7, 8 of this Volume.

³⁷ Grahame, in his History of the United States, ii. 4, quotes an extract given in Leland's History of

Ireland, from a Bull of Pope Urban the Eighth, in which the Irish Roman Catholics were charged 'rather to lose their lives than

through his influence with the Court and personal friendship with the King, property and privileges within the borders of the desired land, far greater than any ever yet conferred upon any British subject.

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Their variety and magnitude will be best seen by reference to the terms of the Charter itself, which was finally granted on the 20th of June, 1632, not to the first Lord Baltimore, who applied for it;—for he had died early in that year;—but to his son and heir, Cæcilius Calvert. It sets out with stating that he, Cæcilius, walking in his father's steps, was kindled 'with the laudable and pious desire of extending alike the Christian Religion and the territories of the King's Empire;'—a statement, which it is impossible to reconcile with the only sense in which it could properly be understood by the King and nation at that time; since the father had resigned his office of Secretary of State, a few years before, on the alleged ground that the communion with the Church of Rome, into which he had entered, no longer permitted him to discharge its duties. The Charter then goes on to say, that, of his own royal will and favour, the King now granted to Cæcilius, Lord Baltimore, and his heirs, 'all that part of the peninsula or chersonese, lying in the parts of America, between the ocean on the east and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, divided from the residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory

Terms of its
Charter.

take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the Catholic Church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty.' He thinks, with good reason, that Baltimore, being an Irish Peer, was thereby restrained from taking the oath.

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or headland called Watkin's Point situate upon the Bay aforesaid, near the river of Wighco, on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that boundary on the south, unto that part of the Bay of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of North Latitude from the Equinoctial, where New England is terminated: and all the tract of that land within the metes underwritten, that is to say, passing from the said Bay called Delaware Bay, in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river called Pottowmack; thence verging towards the south, unto the further bank of the said river, and following the same on the west and south, unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it disembogues into the aforesaid river of Chessopeake, and thence by the shortest line unto the aforesaid promontory or place called Watkin's Point; so that the whole tract of land, divided by the line aforesaid, between the main ocean and Watkin's Point, unto the promontory called Cape Charles, and every other appendage thereof, may entirely be excepted for ever to the King.' It granted also 'all Islands towards the east, within ten marine leagues from the eastern shore of the said region, together with the harbours, rivers, straits, belonging to the same; and all the fisheries, and mines, and quarries of any sort soever within the said limits:—and furthermore, the Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches which (with the increasing worship and religion of Christ) within the said

region, islands, and limits aforesaid, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with licence and faculty of erecting and founding Churches, Chapels, and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places within the premisses, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England with all and singular such, and as ample rights, liberties, immunities, and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well by sea as by land within the region, islands, and limits aforesaid, to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick or County Palatine of Durham, in our Kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy.' All this, Lord Baltimore, his heirs, and assigns were to 'hold of the King and his successors, in free and common socage, by fealty only for all services, and not in capite nor by Knights' service, yielding unto the King and his successors two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the Castle of Windsor, every year on Tuesday in Easter week, and also the fifth part of all gold and silver ore, which shall happen, from time to time, to be found within the aforesaid limits.' It declared further that the Province so constituted was to be called **MARYLAND**³⁸.

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³⁸ In honour of the Queen of Charles the First. Although her name was Henrietta Maria, she is often designated by the writers of that day only by that of Mary. Thus Laud writes in his Diary (p. 6), 'An. 1625, June 12, Queene Mary crossing the seas, landed upon our shores about seven a clock in the evening.' Similar instances are to

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Power was also given to Baltimore, 'as true Lord and Proprietary of the whole Province,' in the most full, and absolute terms, to ordain and enact laws, and to appoint judges and officers of every kind, 'so nevertheless that the laws aforesaid be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant or contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable to the Laws, Statutes, customs and rights of this our Kingdom of England.' Licence was granted to all English subjects to transport themselves to the new Colony, who wished to do so; and to the Proprietary not only was the privilege secured of imposing subsidies upon their inhabitants with their consent; but the King further covenanted that neither he nor his successors should levy any taxes upon the Colonists, or upon any goods belonging to them within the Province. And, in conclusion, the Charter provided, that, if doubt should arise as to the true meaning of any word, or clause, or sentence contained therein, that interpretation should hold good which should be judged most favourable to Baltimore and his heirs;—subject only to one condition, namely, that it should not be such as might prejudice the true Christian Religion or allegiance to the Crown³⁹.

Greater privileges than these could not have been granted by any monarch to any subject; and the opinion which has been expressed is probably correct,

be found in Fuller's Church History. The Biographie Universelle (Art. Calvert) states erroneously that the name of Maryland was given in honour of Mary, daughter

of Charles I.

³⁹ See a Latin copy of the Charter, with an English translation, prefixed to Bacon's Laws of Maryland. See also Hazard, i. 327—336.

that the Charter was drawn up by Calvert himself, entirely at his own discretion, and with his own hand ⁴¹. That the supervision of it, during its progress, demanded and received all the attention which he, in his own person, could give to it, is evident from a most touching letter written by him, from his 'lodging in Lincoln's Inn Fields,' on the eleventh of October, 1631,—a few months only before the final ratification of the Charter,—to Wentworth, Lord Strafford, upon the death of his wife; in which he states that the urgent business which he then had in hand alone deterred him from going to Ireland to visit and to comfort Strafford in his affliction ⁴².

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In considering the privileges of the Charter which occupied the mind of Calvert so entirely at that moment, I shall pass over those of a secular character; only observing with respect to them, that they transferred to English Colonists a power which the King of England himself did not possess, and which therefore could not lawfully be delegated by him to them ⁴³. I am concerned mainly with the consideration of those which more particularly affected the interests of religion. And here, I cannot but think that there is a disingenuousness pervading the whole instrument, which reflects as much reproach upon the King and his counsellors who granted, as

Reflections
thereon.

⁴¹ Chalmers, 203. M'Mahon's Historical View, &c. of Maryland, i. 10. Bancroft, i. 241.

⁴² Strafford's Letters and Despatches, &c. i. 59.

⁴³ Chalmers, 204.

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upon the nobleman who received, its ample prerogatives. There is not a word, let it be remarked, from first to last, which seems in the slightest degree to indicate that the favoured Proprietor of Maryland was not a faithful member of the Church of England. The extension and support of the Christian Religion, insisted upon so conspicuously in the first and last clauses of the Charter, could naturally be understood as referring to no other exhibition of Christianity than that which the Church of England professed and taught in all her formularies, and which was presented freely to all her people in her Authorized Version of the Bible. In confirmation of this belief, and with the expressed purpose of acting openly in accordance with it, the Proprietor of Maryland, we have seen, was to be invested with the Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches which might 'hereafter happen to be built' in any quarter of it; was to have the 'licence or faculty of erecting and founding Churches, Chapels, and places of worship, in convenient and suitable places;' and to cause 'the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England.' Nor was this all. He was further to be invested 'with all and singular such, and as ample rights, liberties, immunities, and royal rights, and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well by sea as by land,' throughout the entire province, 'to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, in the Kingdom of England, ever hereto-

fore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy⁴⁴.' Now, is it not clear that every one of these privileges was based upon the assumption that he, upon whom they were conferred, was a faithful member of the Church of England? Could the rulers of that Church have granted them to any one hostile to her; or could any one in such hostile position have consented to receive them, without alike being guilty of treachery and duplicity? And yet these privileges were granted to one so directly and avowedly hostile to the Church of England, that he had forsaken her, and entered into communion with that of Rome, whose fierce, presumptuous anathema so lately denounced against English rulers had never been withdrawn. He had been led to this act by no blind impulse. We have seen, that, in the fulness of matured manhood and enlarged experience, Calvert had resigned the dignities and emoluments of office; had retired from his native country; had sought a settlement in Virginia; and, in that province, had been so zealous, to preserve intact the spiritual authority to which he was newly rendered subject, as to refuse to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance to his King⁴⁵. This was the man to whom

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⁴⁴ Bancroft, in his description of this Charter, i. 243, says that 'Christianity was made by it the law of the land, but no preference was given to any sect; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured:'—a description, it is hardly necessary

to point out, directly at variance with the above clauses.

⁴⁵ A remarkable passage occurs in a letter of Baltimore to his friend Strafford, Aug. 12, 1630, after his return to England from Virginia, in which he tries to show, inconclusively, as I think, the proofs of

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Charles, in the plenitude of his power, forgetful of all the laws which Parliament had thought fit to pass against Popish Recusants, and of his own solemn and repeated promises to observe them, granted with loftiest powers so large and fair a portion of the Virginian territory. It cannot be said that the favour shown to Baltimore was merely the token of a kindly spirit seeking to mitigate the severity of penal laws; for never were those laws, whenever they bore upon those who were not Roman Catholics, executed with more shameful rigour than at the time of giving this Charter. Neither is it any justification of this act to say that Baltimore was a man of unblemished reputation, and upright, humane, and just. I admit this most unreservedly; — nay more, I admit that his successors inherited his virtues as well as his name; and that the wisdom

affection entertained by Roman Catholics for the family of the English King. He describes the demonstration of joy in the Court of Spain at hearing that Queen Henrietta Maria had given birth to the Prince of Wales, and says: 'The King, Queen, and all the Court in bravery, not so much as the young infant of so many months old but had his feather in his cap: all the Town full of masks and musick. And not only the Temporal State but the Spiritual express their gladness: The Heads of the Clergy and all the Religious Houses in the City came to the Ambassador in the name of their Bodies to congratulate with him the birth of the Prince, and solemn Masses and Prayers were said for

his health and prosperity every where. Thus your Lordship sees that we Papists want not charity towards you Protestants, whatsoever the less understanding part of the world think of us.' *Strafford's Letters, &c.* i. 53. Whatsoever may have been the sincerity of the writer who lays stress upon such testimony, he puts altogether out of sight the fact that Queen Henrietta was of the same communion with those who exhibited all this joy; and that therefore it might be regarded not so much as a token of the charity of Papists towards Protestants, as of exultation in the prospect that a Papist Prince might once more be seated upon the throne of England.

and benevolence of the first Popish Lords of Maryland will be found to put to utter shame and rebuke the words and acts of many who then clamoured the most loudly against Popery. Still, this their equitable government could not have been foreseen; or, if any had calculated upon it as probable, a lawful end was only to be obtained by lawful means. Nothing can excuse the gross injustice of issuing a Charter, the provisions of which could not be, nor were ever intended to be, executed according to their plain and obvious meaning.

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It is remarkable that every writer of American History, save one, as far as I can ascertain, should have passed over in silence this disgraceful characteristic of the Maryland Charter. They have neither regarded the contradiction which it gave to the laws existing at that time in England; nor the difficulties which it was too sure to cast in the way of our own Church, when she came to extend her ministrations to the same province. Even Dr. Hawks, although he cites⁴⁶ the passage which I have quoted respecting the licence of erecting and founding Churches according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, makes no comment upon the obvious inconsistency of entrusting such a privilege to the hands of a Roman Catholic Proprietor. The exception to which I refer is that of Mr. Murray, an able writer in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library,

⁴⁶ Hawks's Ecclesiastical Contributions, &c. (Maryland) ii. 22.

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The departure of the expedition.

The Charter of Maryland was granted, as we have said, to the second Lord Baltimore, in June 1632; and it was his intention at first to have superintended in person the plantation of the Colony. But he afterwards abandoned this design; and, towards the close of the following year, sent out his brother Leonard as governor to take possession of the province. And here a statement has been left on record, which takes away the only ground upon which we might have cherished the belief, that the issuing of the Charter was an act of personal favour on the King's part, done without due consideration; and that his counsellors,—especially Laud, at that time the chief among them,—were not fully cognizant of all that it involved. Not that this would have been a sufficient defence; although it might have been deemed some extenuation of the act. It would have been better,—if we could have so regarded it,—that the monarch, from his excessive partiality for a nobleman of high merit, should have conferred upon him a favour not lawful to grant; and that his ministers, from the increasing difficulties of their position, should not have had sufficient time to have examined the transaction as they ought, than that it should have been carried on, deliberately and reso-

⁴⁷ Edinb. Cab. Lib. (United States), i. 145.

lutely, by the weight of Court influence, and in spite of the remonstrances of the people. A measure carried into effect by such means throws of course the whole burden of its responsibility upon all who at that period swayed the counsels of the King. And, that this was the character of the proceedings connected with the plantation of Maryland, there can be no doubt. The interval of nearly eighteen months, which elapsed between the signing of the Charter and the departure of Calvert's followers, was caused solely by the opposition which the measure itself had excited, as he states in a letter, written to his friend Strafford, on the tenth of January, 1633⁴⁸. He speaks therein of being troubled in many ways by his adversaries, who endeavoured to overthrow his business at the Council Board. In some instances, their opposition had arisen, as was likely, from the false and exaggerated representations, made through the Attorney-General before the Star-Chamber, of evils which he was about to perpetrate; saying, that he intended to carry over nuns into Spain, and soldiers to serve the King; that his ships had left Gravesend without due authority from the Custom House; and that his people had abused the King's officers, and refused to take the oath of allegiance. It was not difficult for Calvert to prove the falseness of such reports; and his ships, which had been detained at first in consequence of them, were afterwards set at liberty.

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⁴⁸ Strafford's Letters, &c. i. 178.

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But the mere fact that such proceedings took place proves that public attention was drawn to the matter; and Calvert gratefully acknowledges, in the above letter, that, *by the help of some of his Lordship's good friends* and his own, he had overcome these difficulties, and sent a hopeful Colony into Maryland. It was clearly therefore an act for which Charles's chief counsellors must be held responsible.

Proceedings
of Leonard
Calvert and
the first
settlers in
Maryland.

Two other gentlemen were appointed to act as commissioners with Leonard Calvert; and a band of adventurers accompanied them, amounting in all to two hundred persons⁴⁹, in two vessels; the one being a vessel of three hundred tons, called the Ark, and the other the Dove, a pinnace of fifty tons. Most historians relate that this party consisted of Roman Catholics; and it is probable that they were; but neither Calvert's letter nor the two narratives of the enterprise, alleged to have been drawn up by eye-witnesses, say one word about it⁵⁰. They stopped for some days, in their voyage outwards, at Barbados and St. Kitts; and reached Point Comfort in Virginia, on the 24th of February, 1633-4. Here they were

⁴⁹ In Calvert's letter above referred to, he gives their numbers differently, saying that two of his brothers had 'gone with very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion, and three hundred labouring men well provided in all things.' The *Biographie Universelle* (Art. Calvert) states that two hundred Catholic families went out upon that occasion;—a statement for which no authority whatever is to be found in any of the

original documents.

⁵⁰ The first of these narratives is entitled 'Relation of the successful beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland,' signed by Captain Wintour and others, Adventurers in the expedition, and published in 1634. The second was published in the following year, and entitled 'Relation of Maryland.' It is little else than a meagre abridgment of the first narrative.

received with great apparent courtesy by the authorities of the province; notwithstanding that their arrival and the prospect of a new settlement in the adjoining region could not but be unwelcome to the Colonists of Virginia. The latter knew that the whole territory had once been assigned to them as their own inheritance; and therefore could ill brook the thoughts of losing for ever so fair and large a portion as that which, by the fiat of Charles, was now made over to Baltimore and his followers⁵¹. In Clayborne, especially, the dread of losing the plantations, which the reader has learnt had been already made by him in Kent Island,—in Chesapeak Bay, near Annapolis, the present capital of Maryland,—and also at the mouth of the Susquehannah⁵², incited a desire to throw every impediment in the way of the new adventurers: and he sought, but in vain, to deter them from going further, by stories of the hostile intentions of the Indians. Calvert and his party, undismayed by the prospect of such dangers, set forward early in March for Chesapeak Bay, and sailed several leagues up the Potomac, giving names to the different places along which they passed. They advanced cautiously, as the Indians were on the look-out in large numbers;

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⁵¹ Chalmers very truly remarks, p. 209, that 'this transaction offers the first example, in colonial story, of the dismemberment of an ancient colony, by the formation of a new province, with separate and equal rights.'

⁵² Both these places are mentioned (Hazard, i. 480) in the

Petition afterwards addressed by Clayborne against Lord Baltimore, and in the Order of Council, passed April 4, 1638, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Commissioners for Plantations, whose names are there recited, and who declared that Clayborne had no right to their possession.

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and Clayborne's alarming information seemed likely to be verified. 'Wee found,' say the adventurers, 'all the countrey in armes. The King of the Paschatto-wayes had drawen together 1500 bowe-men, which we ourselves saw; the woods were fired in manner of beacons the night after; and for that our Vessell was the greatest that euer those Indians saw, the scoutes reported wee came in a Canow as bigge as an Iland, and had as many men as there bee trees in the woods³³.'

The manner in which they took formal possession of an island, which they called St. Clement's, is thus described: 'Here wee went to a place, where a large tree was made into a crosse; and taking it on our shoulders, wee carried it to the place appointed for it. The Gouvernour and Commissioners putting their hands first vnto it; then the rest of the chieftest adventurers. At the place prepared, wee all kneeled downe, and said certaine Prayers: taking possession of this countrey for our Sauour; and for our Soueraigne Lord the King of England³⁴.'

The caution and sagacity of Leonard Calvert, and the kindness of his people, prevented any collision with the natives; and, in a few days, the Indian king was seen sitting fearlessly among the English strangers. Soon afterwards, they proceeded up a river, called by them St. George's,—but known at this time by the name of St. Mary's,—which falls into the Poto-

³³ Relation of the successfull beginings, &c. p. 2.

³⁴ Ibid. 3.

mac, upon the north side, about ten or twelve miles from its mouth; and, having landed at Yoacomoco,—so called from the Indians of that name who inhabited it, and by whom they were kindly received,—they marked out a piece of ground for St. Mary's Town, which they designed to build upon it. 'To avoid,' said they, 'all just occasion of offence, and collour of wrong, wee bought of the king for hatchetts, axes, howes, and clothes, a quantitie of some thirty miles which we call Augusta Carolina; and that which made them the more willing to sell it was the warres they had with the Sasqueiahanoughs, a mighty bordering nation, who came often into their countrey, to waste and destroy.'

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How far this proceeding merited that praise which the adventurers with such complacency ascribe to it, I leave to be determined by others. To my mind, the grasping and tricky spirit of the Englishmen stands forth in most humiliating contrast with the unsuspecting simplicity of the poor Indians.

Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, came to visit Calvert and his followers, soon after they had fixed upon this their first settlement; and his coming drew to the same place a noble-minded Indian chief, who is called the King of Patuxent. The description of this chief's character and visit is given in most touching terms: 'When I heard,' said he, 'that a great Werowance of the English was come to Yoacomoco, I had a great desire to see him. But when I heard the Werowance of Pasbie-haye was come thither also to visit him, I presently start up,

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and without further counsell, came to see them both⁵⁵.' During his stay with the English, their colours were carried on shore; and 'the Arke's great gunnes, to honour the day, spake aloud; which the King of Patuxent with great admiration hearing, counselled his friends the Yoacomoco Indians to bee carefull that they breake not their peace with vs; and said, when we shoote, our bowstrings giue a twang that's heard but a little way off: but doe you heare what cracks their bowstrings giue? Many such pretty sayings hee vsed in the time of his being with vs, and at his departure, he thus exprest his extraordinary affection vnto us, 'I do loue the English so well, that if they should kill me, so that they left me but some breath as to speake unto my people, I would command them not to revenge my death⁵⁶.'

Its equitable
plan of
government.

Every thing prospered at first in the new settlement. The equitable and wise counsels of Lord Baltimore at home were faithfully carried into effect by his brother and the commissioners in Maryland. To encourage emigration to that province, it was provided that any person soever, who should be able to go thither in person or by deputy, with any number of able men between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and things necessary for a plantation, should receive, for every five men whom he should so take over, a thousand English acres of good land in the province, to be erected into a manor, and conveyed

⁵⁵ Relation, &c. 5.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 5, 6.

to him, his heirs and assigns, with all the royalties and privileges usually belonging to manors in England, paying in the commodities of the country a yearly quit-rent to Lord Baltimore of twenty shillings, and such other services as should be generally agreed upon for public uses and the common good. Any person transporting to the Colony a less number than the above was to receive a hundred acres for himself, and a hundred acres more for every servant, to be holden of the Lord Proprietor in freehold, upon a yearly quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres⁵⁷. The expenses incurred by that nobleman in conveying emigrants to the Colony amounted to forty thousand pounds; and that this large outlay was made justly, as well as liberally, is evident from the subsidy of fifteen pounds of tobacco on every poll granted to him by the freemen of the province, at an early period of its history, 'as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for re-imbursing his vast charge⁵⁸.'

Assemblies for the regulation of the Colony were held in due form and order; and gradually extended their operations until a complete system of jurisprudence adapted to their specific wants was settled⁵⁹. Upon all the particulars connected with them, we are of course not required to dwell; but there are some, identified with the immediate subject of

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⁵⁷ Ibid. 22, 23.

⁵⁸ Chalmers, 208 and 230.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 210—213.

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And reli-
gious tole-
ration.

this work, which demand notice. And, foremost among these is the memorable oath required to be taken by the governor and council of Maryland,—and which was taken by them between the years 1637 and 1657,—in which these words occur, ‘I will not, by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance, any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion ⁶⁰.’ What withering rebuke does the record of this oath cast upon the intolerant statutes of Virginia’s Grand Assembly; upon the Puritan pride of Massachusetts; and upon the sentences of the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Court exhibited, in that day, in England!

Except in
the case
of slaves.

It is worthy, however, of remark, that, whilst a humane and just spirit of legislation in one most important particular was thus manifested, the practice of slavery was recognized and carried on in Maryland from the earliest period of its history. No sense of its unlawfulness, no desire to mitigate its severity, appear to have existed in any quarter. Received into the Colony in her infancy, it went on growing with her growth, and strengthening with her strength. Nay, the formal avowal of it in her Statute Book is made in terms which imply that the poor slave was to be left, as a matter of course, without sympathy and without hope; as much a stranger to the blessings of Christianity, as he already was to those of temporal freedom. An Act of the Assembly, in 1638,

⁶⁰ Ibid. 285.

declares, with a harsh brevity, most significant of the utter indifference which was felt respecting them, that the people consisted of all Christian inhabitants, 'slaves only excepted ⁶¹.'

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Another declaration which occurs in the enactments of the Maryland Assembly of that period, and became afterwards the perpetual law of the province, cannot be passed by without notice. It was to this effect: 'Holy Church within this Province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises, wholly and without blemish ⁶². These are very nearly the words of the first section of Magna Charta ⁶³'; and it cannot be doubted that the Proprietor of Maryland, being a Roman Catholic, understood by the expression 'Holy Church,' only that Church with which he was in Communion; the jurisdiction of which, in matters spiritual and temporal, was established in England when Magna Charta was signed; and the renewal of which he would of

Its enact-
ment touch-
ing the
Church.

⁶¹ Bacon's Laws of Maryland, 1638.

⁶² Ibid. 1638. 1640.

⁶³ The English translation of this section is as follows: 'That the Church of England shall be free, and enjoy her whole rights and liberties inviolable. And we will have them so to be observed; which appears from hence that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned most necessary for the Church of England, of our own free-will and pleasure, we have granted and confirmed by our Charter, and obtained the confirmation of from Pope Innocent the Third, before the discord be-

tween us and our Barons; which Charter we shall observe, and do will it to be faithfully observed by our heirs for ever.' Rapin in loc. Chalmers, in his notice of the resemblance between the above Section of Magna Charta and the enactment of the Maryland Assembly, p. 213, speaks of the vindication of the rights of the Church herein asserted as made against the inroads of Papal jurisdiction; but would it not be more correct to say that it was against the usurpation of the Crown? See Blackstone's Introduction to the History of the Charters, 291—293; Lingard, iii. 19—22.

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course be anxious to see established in Maryland, as soon as the opportunity arrived for effecting it with safety. But then, as has been already remarked, the Charter, from which alone he derived his whole authority, had provided that all Churches, Chapels, and places of public worship to be erected and founded under his sole licence, and of which he was to have the sole patronage, were to be dedicated and consecrated according to those ecclesiastical laws of England which were in force at the time of his receiving his Charter. If these conditions were to be faithfully observed, what became of the rights, liberties, franchises of that 'Holy Church' which alone Baltimore, and the majority of his followers, recognized as the true one? If not, what is to be thought of the consciences of those who, whilst they proclaimed one thing, intended another? It is evident, therefore, that, in such an enactment, we may trace the first breaking out of that plague-spot whose poison was deeply seated in the body of the Charter itself?

Whatsoever may have been the designs or hopes of the Lord of Maryland, he was not permitted to realize them at that time. A proposal which he made to the Colonists of Massachusetts, to send a portion of their people to settle in his province, with the promise that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, was coldly refused⁶⁴; and his efforts to advance in other ways the welfare of

⁶⁴ Savage's Winthrop, ii. 148 : quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 30, 31.

his infant Colony were thwarted by the necessity laid upon him to struggle with Clayborne, Secretary of the Virginia Assembly, an adversary, as insidious as he was daring. We have already glanced at the reasons which led Clayborne to view, with more than ordinary jealousy and alarm, the plantation of the new settlement; and, remembering his reckless character, it will not surprise us now to learn that he quickly put into operation every means which intrigue or fraud or violence could suggest to save his own possessions in Maryland. The incessant collisions thereby produced between the two Colonies, during the remainder of Charles the First's reign, make it impracticable to pursue their histories separately. Clayborne had already tried, but without success, to make good his footing in Maryland; and, having been driven home, and proclaimed a pirate and an outlaw, he was unable for a time to shield himself, either by the favour of Harvey or his own authority as a member of the Virginia Council, and was sent to England to answer for his crimes. But this show of justice was a mere pretence. He soon appeared again in Virginia; and, stirring up the Indians to war, by his false representations, struck a successful blow against Maryland⁶³. The contest, which broke out early in 1642, lasted then only for a short time; but was soon renewed; and, with the aid of one

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Clayborne's
disturbances.

⁶³ Clayborne had possessed in his office of Secretary peculiar facilities of intercourse with the Indians, as the following entry from Henning, i. 228, will show: '29th April,

1635. And that during vacancy of the Governor, the Secretary should sign commissions, and passes, and manage the affairs of the Indians.'

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who was afterwards a convicted traitor, Richard Ingle, was pressed with such vigour, that Calvert was obliged to flee to Virginia for protection. And it was not until August, 1646, that peace was restored to Maryland⁶⁶.

Retrospect
of the affairs
of Virginia
from Har-
vey's first
government,
1629.

Whilst this was the course of affairs which marked the plantation and progress of Maryland, those which had been going on in Virginia, throughout the same period, will not be found to exhibit a more cheering aspect than that which has been already presented to our view. We have seen, that,—whilst the policy, pursued towards her by the advisers of the King in England, was calculated to discourage and distress the well affected members of the Church within the province,—the cruel treatment of Sir John Harvey, who ruled her in the King's name, aggravated every evil. At length, the Assembly could endure his tyranny no longer; and, on the 28th of April, 1635, thrust him out of the government, appointing Captain John West to act in his room, until the King's pleasure were known⁶⁷. The King's pleasure was speedily and painfully made known by the restoration of Harvey, early in 1636; and, for three years longer, he continued his arbitrary and oppressive rule, treating the Virginians, as Chalmers has correctly described it, 'rather as the vassals of an Eastern despot than as the subjects of the King of England, entitled to English liberties⁶⁸.'

⁶⁶ Chalmers, 216, 217.

⁶⁷ Hening, i. 223.

⁶⁸ Chalmers, 119.

The evil consequences of such iniquitous conduct were obviously of the worst description. They must have affected all classes in Virginia : but the Church, being, as we have seen, under the power of the Assembly, and the Assembly being thus trampled under foot by the tyranny of the chief officer of the Crown, was of course likely to be the greatest sufferer. This was proved by the event. Some few faithful men, indeed, were still left, scattered up and down the province, and the traces of their fidelity are not wholly obliterated ⁶⁹; although the destruction of all the government archives, during the war of the Revolution, has swept away the memory even of the names of most of them on the other side of the Atlantic; and no one was found at home to treasure up the records of their services, during the present reign, as Hakluyt and Purchas had done during the time of James the First ⁷⁰. Still, the vital energies of

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Evil consequences of Harvey's rule, especially to the Church.

⁶⁹ Hening has supplied the names of some of the Clergy; Mr. Thomas Hampton, for instance, being described in an Act of the Assembly, 1645-6, as Rector of James City Parish, and consenting to the establishment of Harrop Parish, i. 317; and, soon after the Restoration, the following remarkable Order appears in the proceedings of the Assembly: 'March, 1660-1. Whereas Mr. Phillip Mallory hath been eminently faithfull in the ministry and very diligent in endeavouring the advancement of all those means that might conduce to the advancement of religion in this country, *It is ordered* that he be desired to undertake the soliciting of our church affairs in England,

and that there be paid him as a gratuity for the many paines he hath already and hereafter is like to take about the countreys business the sum of eleaven thousand pounds of tobacco, to be paid in the next levy.' ii. 34.

⁷⁰ Purchas, in his Pilgrims, carried on most effectively, as long as he was able, the work which Hakluyt had so well begun; and to these two clergymen of the Church of England every one who would desire to see the earliest steps by which the commercial greatness of this nation has been attained, must ever turn with gratitude. At the point where their guidance ceases, no other compiler is found to take their place. To me this has been

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the whole body of the Church throughout the Colony were rapidly sinking beneath the baneful influences which oppressed her. The depth of humiliation to which she was thus cast down, may be learnt from the following statement which occurs in a remarkable pamphlet of that day, entitled, 'Leah and Rachel'.⁷¹ The writer, having said that the Colonists had begun 'to provide and send home for Gospel ministers, and largely contributed to their Maintenance,' adds, 'but Virginia savouring not handsomely in England, very few of good conversation would adventure thither, (as thinking it a place wherein surely the fear of God was not) yet many came, such as wore black coats, and could babble in a Pulpit, roare in a Tavern, exact from the Parishioners, and rather by their dis-

a matter of deep regret, for I was greatly indebted, in my first volume, to the Journals, Memorials, and Charters collected by Hakluyt, and to the letters and narratives supplied by Purchas. Nor can I doubt but that similar evidences of the noble courage and devotion of several of our brethren were sent home, during the later period now passing under review. But no man was found to be their chronicler.

It is a humiliating fact to learn, that the zeal of Purchas in rescuing such facts from oblivion involved him in great pecuniary difficulty. He was presented by Bishop King to the living of St. Martin's Ludgate, about the year 1615; a preferment, which the writer of his life in the *Biographie Universelle* most erroneously describes as 'un riche rectorat'; and he was also Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. (*Biog. Brit.*

in loc.) But, notwithstanding the aid which might have been looked for from such quarters, he was, according to some accounts, actually committed to prison, by reason of his inability to defray the expenses of a publication which will continue to amuse, instruct, and edify, as long as the memory of English literature shall last. Locke does not appear to have appreciated Purchas as he deserved; although he admits, that 'for such as can make choice of the best his collection is very valuable.' Works, xi. 546.

⁷¹ This pamphlet was published by its author, John Hammond, in 1656, and dedicated to William Stone, Governor of Maryland under the Commonwealth. Its title is, 'Leah and Rachel, or the two fruitful sisters Virginia and Maryland, their present condition impartially stated and related,' &c.

soluteness destroy than feed their flocks⁷². The Instructions given to Wyatt and to Berkeley tended, indeed, as we shall immediately see, to remedy in some measure these gross disorders; and to this the writer of the above pamphlet doubtless refers, when he says, 'the country was loath to be wholly without Teachers, and therefore rather retain these than to be destitute; yet still endeavours for better in their places, which were obtained, and these wolves in sheeps cloathing by their Assemblies were questioned, silenced, and some forced to depart the Country.' Nevertheless, it is bitter humiliation to feel, that, whilst the Puritans of New England were spreading themselves far and wide throughout their territories, and securing to themselves and to their children the privileges which they accounted so dear; and, whilst to the Popish Proprietor of Maryland had been given the amplest inheritance and the most lordly prerogatives ever conferred upon a British subject; the Church of England in Virginia was left to the tender mercies of Harvey the tyrant, and Clayborne the hypocrite⁷³.

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⁷² Ibid. p. 5.

⁷³ This peculiar grievance of the Church in Virginia seems to have escaped the notice of Mr. Merivale, in his able Lectures on Colonization, ii. 264. All that he has there said in not ascribing her decay to any lack of temporal sustenance, or to the tardiness of her establishment in the Colony is most true. She was, as he asserts, both 'liberally endowed,' and her establishment was coeval with the

Colony itself. But his error, as I believe, is in saying that she was placed 'amongst ill wishers and lukewarm friends, standing alone, unconnected with any territorial aristocracy, or great educated body of adherents;' and 'because unable to win over the body of the people, she fell into a languid apathy.' The fact is, the people were with her, heart and soul; and Clergy, zealous and able, were at the outset found labouring among them;

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Harvey re-
called, and
Wyatt re-
pointed,
1638-9.

A limit was at length put to Harvey's misrule; and, early in 1638-9, the King, unable any longer to screen the atrocious acts of his deputy, revoked his commission. To him succeeded Sir Francis Wyatt, whose name has already been so favourably associated with those of the most devoted and faithful Colonists of Virginia, in her earlier days; and whose resumption of office was received by her inhabitants with hearty and grateful welcome.

His Instruc-
tions re-
specting the
Church.

The reader has been reminded more than once of the admirable Articles of Instruction which Wyatt carried out to this province, nearly seventeen years before; and the fact is now adverted to again, because we find him entrusted with a similar body of rules upon the present occasion. It is needless to recite them all; but the following, which stands first upon the list, is worthy of attention:

That in the first place, you be carefull Almighty God may be duly and daily served according to the form of Religion established in the Church of England bothe by yourselfe and all the people under your charge, which may draw down a blessing upon your endeavours. And let every congregation that hath an able minister build for him a convenient Parsonage House, to which, for his better maintenance, over and above the usuall Pension you shall lay 200 Acres of Gleable lands for the clearing of the ground: Every one of his Parishioners for three years shall give some days labour of themselves and their servants; and see that

but neglect and oppression thinned their ranks; and to the rulers of the Church, both at home and in Virginia, must be ascribed her ruin. Her condition differed, in this respect, very much from that which was afterwards exhibited in Caro-

lina, although Mr. Merivale has classed them both under the same category. To the Church, as it was established in Carolina, and to that alone, his description, as will be seen hereafter, is strictly applicable.

you have a special care that the Glebe land be sett as near his Parsonage House as may be, and that it be of the best conditioned land. Suffer no invasion in matters of Religion, and be carefull to appoint sufficient and conformable ministers to each congregation, that may catechize and instruct them in the grounds and principles of Religion ⁷⁴.

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There is every reason to believe, from what is known of Wyatt's character, that such Instructions would not have remained a dead letter in his hands, had the opportunity of enforcing them been allowed to him; and, at the same time, that the mildness and equity of his administration would have prevented any rigorous and oppressive exercise of his powers. But his present commission as governor lasted only for a brief season;—from what cause I have not been able to ascertain ⁷⁵,—and, in February, 1640-1, he was succeeded by Sir William Berkeley.

Berkeley brought out with him the same Instructions respecting the Church which I have just said had been given to Wyatt; and, in accordance with them, some fresh Parishes were soon marked out, and others subdivided. He had authority also to restore to the Virginians the full exercise of those privileges, relating to the administration of justice and the regulation of commerce, the basis of which was supplied in those laws which had been in force, as long as the Virginia Company ruled the Colony,

Berkeley
first appointed
governor
1640-1.

⁷⁴ Orders in Council (Virginia) in the State Paper Office.

⁷⁵ Burk has expressed an opinion, ii. 46, that Wyatt was superseded by Berkeley, on account of the King's wish to appease the jealousy

of Parliament; but he has given no reason to show why this end was more likely to be attained by the appointment of Berkeley, than by allowing Wyatt to continue in his office.

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but the practical benefits of which had been lost since it had been brought under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Crown⁷⁶. The feeling of deep gratitude which was awakened throughout the Colony by this exercise of the royal prerogative, showed itself in various ways; and, instead of heartburnings and the oppression of indignant and outraged consciences, stimulating men to those acts of resistance which had disturbed it under the administration of Harvey, the inhabitants of the province seemed to vie with each other in their efforts to uphold the authority, and honour the person, of Sir William Berkeley. One remarkable evidence of this occurs in an Act of the Assembly, passed in June, 1642, whereby an orchard and two houses, belonging to the Colony, were presented to him and his heirs for ever, 'as a free and voluntary gift in consideration of many favours manifested by him⁷⁷.' In many respects, Berkeley fully merited the confidence and gratitude of Virginia. He was honest and persevering, loyal and courageous; and the defects in his character, from which the Colony doubtless suffered in some most important respects, may partly be ascribed to the times in which he lived.

Indian War. But, before we notice his subsequent career, we must glance at the hostilities with the Indians, in which Berkeley was involved at the outset of his ad-

⁷⁶ For the particulars of these Instructions, see Chalmers, 120, 121, and 131—133. He justly observes, with respect to one of them, that it contains the principle of

that policy which was afterwards developed and settled in the time of Cromwell by the Navigation Act.

⁷⁷ Hening, i. 267.

ministration. They were caused by the shameful outrages which Harvey had permitted his people to carry on among their tribes; and Opechancanough, who, twenty years before, had struck so heavy a blow against the English by the massacre which his followers then perpetrated, still lived to avenge the fresh insults which the white man heaped upon him. Up to the very moment at which the hostilities broke out, there appeared no symptom of danger. Whether this tranquillity were the effect of fear, or feigned for the purpose of throwing the English off their guard, it is difficult to say. But there is no doubt, that, demonstrations even of an amicable nature were made by Opechancanough, only a few months before he was seen assailing the English settlements. We find him, for instance, in 1640, interceding for an Englishman, named John Burton, who had been sentenced to death for the murder of an Indian, and obtaining remission of the sentence.

Again, in 1641, he agreed to an application made by Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahuntas, his niece,—the circumstances of whose baptism, and marriage, and death, have been already described ⁷⁸,—to come and visit him. And yet, during all that time, he was organizing,—among the tribes which extended from York River, near which he dwelt, to those settled upon the shores of the other great rivers which flow into Chesapeak Bay,—a force so numerous and resolute, that, upon their first attack of the English fron-

⁷⁸ See Vol. i. the latter part of the ninth and beginning of the tenth chapters.

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tier, in the following spring, they slew five hundred of the settlers, took many prisoners, and destroyed a large amount of property. In consequence, however, of the defensive measures which the English had been careful to observe ever since the former massacre, the Indians were not able to push their success further. Berkeley met the danger promptly and boldly. He enrolled into a militia all who were able to bear arms; put himself at their head; pursued the Indians, already upon their retreat, into their own country; took Opechancanough himself prisoner, and brought him back in triumph to James Town.

Death of
Opechan-
canough.

The Indian prince was so bowed down by the weight of many,—it is said, well nigh a hundred,—years, that he was carried about in a litter; and his eyelids were so heavy that he could not see, unless they were lifted up by his attendants. Still his spirit was unbroken; and the hold which he had upon the affections of his followers was so strong, that many of them entreated to be allowed the privilege of sharing his captivity, that they might sustain the weakness, and comfort the sorrows, of their chief. Berkeley treated him with great kindness; and doubtless would have rejoiced to soothe, as far as in him lay, the closing hours of his life. But his intentions were frustrated by a wound, which one of the guards of Opechancanough inflicted upon him, of which he died. The brave, proud, spirit of the Indian warrior showed itself even in that hour. Hearing an unusual noise in the chamber where he

was confined, he desired his attendants to lift up his eyelids,—which were ready to be closed in death,—and saw a number of persons, who had crowded around him that they might gratify their curiosity by gazing upon his last struggles. He lifted himself up in their presence; and, not deigning to say a word to the intruders, ordered Berkeley to be summoned. The governor obeyed the call; and, upon his entering the room, Opechancanough indignantly said to him, that, ‘had it been his good fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he would not have meanly exposed him thus a show unto his people’⁷⁹.

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Soon after the death of Opechancanough, Berkeley departed for England, leaving Richard Kemp to act as governor in his room. Upon his return in the year following⁸⁰, he made treaties of peace with the several Indian chiefs who had conspired to attack Virginia⁸¹; and, for several years, no further collision was experienced in that quarter. Berkeley’s greatest difficulties arose from home. The conflict, which, in the mother country, cast throne and altar to the ground, was renewed in every Colony; and, in none was the struggle maintained with greater obstinacy than in Virginia. The well-known loyalty and courage of her governor, and the affection, which, amid all the discouragements heaped upon them, her people still felt and professed for the King and for the Church, gathered fresh strength as the

⁷⁹ Burk, ii. 54—59.

⁸⁰ Hening, i. 5, 6.

⁸¹ Ibid. 323.

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enemies of both increased. The period, however, which intervened before the crisis of the conflict arrived, exhibits some points of interest, connected with our present work, which, for a moment, we must notice. One of these has been already cited, namely, the constitution and alteration of Parishes, made soon after the first arrival of Berkeley, for the purpose of better securing to the inhabitants of the Colony the regular ministration of the means of grace. Another is the increasing difficulty experienced in the Colony, caused from the want of Clergy, and the means adopted to relieve it. The first public notice of this state of things occurs in the following remarkable Acts, passed by the Grand Assembly, February 17, 1644-5:—

Acts re-
specting the
Church,
1644-5.

Monthly
fasts.

Remedy for
scarcity of
pastors.

Ministers
to reside.

I. *Be it enacted by the Governour, Counsell and Burgesses of this present Grand Assembly, for God's glory and the publick benefit of the Collony, to the end that God might avert his heavie judgments that are now vpon vs, That the last Wednesday be sett apart for a day of ffast and humiliation, And that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching, And because of the scarcity of pastors, many ministers haveing charge of two cures, Be it enacted, That such minister shall officiate in one cure vpon the last Wednesday of everie month; and in his other cure vpon the first Wednesday of the ensuing month, And in case of haveing three cures, that hee officiate in his third cure vpon the second Wednesday of the ensuing month which shall then be their day of fast, That the last act made the 11th of January, 1641, concerning the ministers preaching in the fore-noon and catechising in the afternoon of every Sunday be revived and stand in force, And in case any minister do faile so to doe, That he forfeit 500 pound of tobaccoe to be disposed of by the vestrey for the vse of the parish.*

II. *That everie minister shall reside and abide within his cure*

to perform such acts of his callinge (vizt.) baptize weak infants, to visit the sick and all other actions which pertain to his ministerial function, vpon penalty as aforesaid. CHAP.
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III. That where it soe falls out that any minister have induction into two or more cures farr distant one from another, whereby one cure must necessarily be neglected, It shall be lawfull for the parishioners of such a cure, to make vse of any other minister as a lecturer to baptize or preach, *Provided* it be without prejudice or hinderance to the incumbent that first had his induction, And that the priviledge shall be allowed to all other parts inconvenient and dangerous for repaire to the parish Church.

IV. That the eighteenth day of April [the day on which the last Day of thanksgiving. attack of the Indians was made] be yearly celebrated by thanksgiving for our deliverance from the hands of the Salvages.

V. That the election of every vestry be in the power of the major part of the parishioners who being warned will appear to make choice of such men as by pluralitie of voices shall be thought fitt, and such warninge to be given either by the minister, churchwardens or head commissioners. Election of Vestry.

VI. That whereas the church-wardens have been very negligent in the execution of their duties and office, The county courts shall hereby have power to call them into question, And if just cause be, to punish or fine them as the offence shall deserve²². Control of Church-wardens.

Some of these enactments demonstrate most forcibly the desire of the Virginians to recognize the hand of God in every event, whether of weal or of woe, which befel their Colony; and others prove no less clearly the pains which they took to remedy, as far as it was possible, the evils which impeded the efficient ministration of the Gospel within her borders. Sufficient evidence, therefore, is supplied to us for believing, that if a more equitable and

²² Ibid. 289—291.

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paternal policy had been pursued towards her in earlier days, the wishes of her faithful children might have been accomplished, and their efforts followed with success. But this was not now permitted to be. The seeds of injustice and neglect, so largely scattered over the land, were rapidly producing fruit after their own kind, depression and contempt; and that sure process, through which the misconduct of one generation entails a heavier burden of guilt and misery upon the generation that succeeds it, was, day by day, developing its deadly power.

*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Ætas parentum, pejor avia, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos,
Progeniem vitiosiore^m.*

It need not surprise us therefore to trace the operation of the same fatal process in the history of Virginia at this day. The wonder rather is, that, in her early decline, she should have exhibited so many tokens of healthful aspiration and energy. Her temporal liberties were not yet taken from her; on the contrary, the administration of Berkeley did much towards their renewal and security⁸¹; and the Acts to which reference has been just made prove that she was willing to apply her temporal influence, as long

⁸⁰ Hor. Lib. iii. Od. vi.

⁸¹ It is amusing to observe the perplexity of Burk, the historian of Virginia, ii. 76, at finding that the liberty of the subject was so much cared for, under a government distinguished for its devotion to the Crown. He tries hard, but without success, to account for the

fact in his own way: forgetting that any attempt to do so was altogether superfluous; and that to suppose any real inconsistency to exist between loyalty and liberty, is but to indulge one of the most unjust and vulgar prejudices of republicanism.

as she was able, to the maintenance and extension of spiritual benefits. If there are other instances in which she exerted her powers in a manner which, in this day, would be justly condemned for its severity, it must be remembered that the conflict then raging at home could not fail to inflame the hearts of Englishmen abroad. It is impossible to form a right estimate of their conduct, if we leave out of our calculation these exciting causes. And hence,—when we find the Grand Assembly of Virginia enacting, at an early period of Berkeley's government, the disability of Popish Recusants to hold public offices; and commanding, under a penalty, all Popish Priests that might arrive in the Colony to depart thence, within five days: or, when we read, in another Act of the same session, an order, that all ministers whatsoever residing in the Colony were to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach publicly or privately; and that the Governor and Council were to take care that all non-conformists, should on due notice be compelled to depart from the Colony with all convenience⁵⁵,—we do but review herein, in other words, the prohibitions and declarations which, in England, during the same period, were regarded as necessary acts of self-defence. One instance, indeed, is to be met with of severity exercised, at this time, by the authorities of Virginia towards an offender, which surpasses any of

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Laws against
Popish Re-
cusants and
Nonconfor-
mists.

⁵⁵ Hening, i. 269 and 277.

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the same kind which are recorded even under Harvey's administration. During the despotic rule of that governor, the following minute is to be found in the Judicial Proceedings of the Colony: 'October 7, 1634, Henry Coleman excommunicated for forty days, for using scornful speeches and putting on his hat in church, when, according to an order of court, he was to acknowledge and ask forgiveness for an offence⁶⁶.' But this act of rigour sinks into insignificance, when compared with another which must have taken place either at the end of Wyatt's last, or the beginning of Berkeley's first administration, and which is thus recorded: '1640, Stephen Reekes put in pillory two hours, with a paper on his head expressing his offence, fined fifty pound sterling, and imprisoned during pleasure for saying that his majesty was at confession with my Lord of Canterbury⁶⁷.' If Prynne could have been informed of this fact, whilst he was heaping upon the head of the devoted Laud every charge which ingenuity, sharpened by malice, could suggest, he would have desired no better means of aggravating the odium which, in any and every place, he strove to affix to the name of that Prelate.

Sympathy of
some Vir-
ginians with
the Puritans
checked.

The rigorous decrees of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court in England, served only, as we have seen, to quicken into more vigorous action the antagonism which it sought to subdue. Like acts of severity committed in the Colony,

⁶⁶ Hening, i. 228.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 552.

produced like consequences, and awakened in the hearts of many of the inhabitants a sympathy with those very Puritans of New England, between whom and themselves the Virginian Legislature were labouring to erect an insurmountable barrier. At a very early period of Berkeley's government, an application was made, by some of the people of his province, to the General Court of Massachusetts, entreating them to send ministers of the Gospel into their country, that its inhabitants might receive a larger measure of the spiritual privileges which they longed for. The application was acceded to. Three Congregational Missionaries, as they were called, went forthwith to Virginia; but, the law just cited,—passed the same year, and probably for the express purpose of counteracting this same movement,—made it impracticable for them to continue their ministrations in the Colony; and they departed, not without having received several marks of private sympathy and gratitude from those to whom they had offered their services, and who were forced to relinquish them ⁸⁸.

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An event occurred about the same period in England, which shows in a remarkable manner the sympathy felt and expressed by many of her people, amid their own difficulties, for those experienced in her Colonies; and also their sense of the duties which the possession of those foreign territories

Remarkable
Petition of
Castell and
others to
Parliament,
1641.

⁸⁸ Emerson, Mather, and Holmes, quoted by Hawks, (*Virginia*), 52—54.

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imposed upon the whole empire. It was the presentation of a Petition, in 1641, by 'Master William Castell, Parson of Courtenhall in the county of Northampton, to the High Court of Parliament then assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America, and the West Indies; and for the settling of our Plantations there.' Some few notices of our Colonies are to be found among the records of former Parliaments; but they refer, for the most part, only to the regulation of sundry articles of commerce between them and the mother country. The above Petition, addressed to the Long Parliament in the first year of its session, is the first distinct evidence, which I have been able to meet with, of any desire to urge upon the Legislature of England a regard for the spiritual condition of her Colonies;—and, for this reason, I give it at length. Having stated, first of all, its object, namely, to 'propose briefly the more then ordinary piety and charity of the worke; the evident necessity and benefit of the undertaking, together with the easinesse of effecting it,' it proceeds to the following effect:—

A greater expression of piety (your Petitioner conceiveth) there cannot be, then to make God known where he was never spoken nor thought of, to advance the Scepter of Christ's Kingdom. And now againe to reduce those, who at first were created after the Image of God from the manifest worship of devils: To acknowledge and adore the blessed Trinitie in Vnity, to doe this, is to be happy Instruments of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations blessed by the comming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands; It is to enlarge greatly the pale of the Church; and to make those (who were

the most detestable synagogues of Sathan) delightfull Temples of the Holy Ghost.

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It was a high point of piety in the Queen of the South, to come from the utmost parts of the world to heare the wisdom of Solomon. And so it was in Abraham, to leave his native country for the better and more free service of his God.

And certainly it will be esteemed no lesse in those, who (either in their persons or purses) shall religiously endeavour to make millions of those silly seduced Americans, to heare, understand, and practise the mysterie of godlinesse.

And as is the piety, such is the charity of the worke, exceeding great, to no lesse then the immortall soules of innumerable men, who still sit in darknesse and in the shadow of death, continually assaulted and devoured by the Dragon, whose greatest delight is to bring others with himselfe into the same irrecoverable gulfe of perdition: what those blind and spirituall distressed Americans are, we were, and so had continued, had not Apostolicall men afforded greater charity unto us, *Divisis orbe Britannis*, by long Journeyings, and not without great hazard of their lives, then (as yet) hath beene shewed by us unto them.

Wee are not indeede indued with such eminent extraordinary gifts, as were the Primitive Christians, but yet (if it be duly considered) how fully and how purely God hath imparted his Gospel unto this Iland, how miraculously hee hath lately protected us from Spanish invasions and Popish conspiracies; how (at this time) wee abound in shipping, and all manner of provision for sea: It will be found, that wee (of all nations) are most for the worke, and most engaged to doe it in due thankfulness to God.

Nor is the Arme of the Lord shortned, or his wonted bounty so restrained, but that undertaking the voyage principally for God's glory, and in compassion to mens soules, we may expect a more then an ordinary blessing from him, whose usuall custome is to honour those that honour him, and most abundantly even in this life, to recompence such religious undertakings.

The Spaniard boasteth much of what hee hath already done in this kind; but their owne Authors report their unchristian

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behaviour, especially their monstrous cruelties, to bee such as they caused the Infidels to detest the name of Christ. Your wisdomes may judge of the Lyon by his claw. In one of their Ilands, called Hispaniola, of 200000 men, as Benzo (in his Italian historie) affirmeth, they had not left 150 soules. And Lipsius justly complaineth, that wheresoever they came, they cut downe men as they did corne, without any compassion! And as for those that survived, they bought their lives at deare rates: for they put them to beare their carriages from place to place, and if they fayled by the way, they either miserably dismembered, or killed them outright. They lodged them like brute beasts under the planks of their ships, till their flesh rotted from their backs: And if any fayled in the full performance of his daily taske, hee was sure to bee whipped till his body distilled with goar blood, and then poured they in either molten pitch or scalding oyle to supple him.

A very strange and unlikely way to worke Infidels unto the faith, neither yet could they (if they would) impart unto others the Gospel in the truth and purity thereof, who have it not themselves, but very corruptly, accompanied with many idle, absurd, idolatrous inventions of their owne, which are but as so many superstructures wickedly oppressing, if not utterly subverting, the very foundations of Christianity.

And although some of the reformed religion, English, Scotch, French, and Dutch, have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither (as yet) beene to small purpose, for the converting of those nations: either for that they have placed themselves but in the skirts of America, where there are but few natives (as those of New England), or else for want of able and conscionable Ministers (as in Virginia), they themselves are become exceeding rude, more likely to turne Heathen, then to turn others to the Christian faith⁸⁹!

⁸⁹ Vol. i. of MSS., &c. on American Colonies in Lambeth Library. I find, in Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, i. 354, that William Castell was at Courtenhall from 1627 to 1645; and Mr.

Wake, the present Incumbent, has favoured me with some notices of his family during that time; but they throw no light upon his proceedings in reference to the above Petition. The name is not a com-

The terms in which this Petition is expressed, and the fact that it was the earliest Petition of the kind addressed to an English Parliament, are of themselves sufficient to invest it with peculiar interest. But, that interest is increased, when we come to review the names of some who were associated with Castell in the promotion of it. The Petition is said to have been 'approved by seventy able English Divines,' of whom thirty were 'ministers of London,' Robert Sanderson, D. D., Joseph Caryl, Edmund Calamy, and others; fifteen were ministers of other counties; and the remainder were 'worthy ministers of the Diocese of Peterborough, where the Petitioner liveth.' It is added also, that it was approved by 'Master Alexander Henderson, and some worthy ministers of Scotland.' Now, when it is remembered, that Caryl and Calamy became afterwards not only members of the Assembly of Divines, but constantly attended its sittings⁹⁰; and that the latter was one of the writers, referred to in the former chapter, the initials of whose names composed the title of *Smectymnuus*⁹¹; and, further, when it is remembered, that Henderson and the other Presbyterian commissioners from Scotland, were foremost in promoting those measures in the same Assembly, which ended in the temporary overthrow of our Church; it will probably appear to many, that this Petition

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mon one; and he who bore it in the present instance may have been a relative of Edmund Castell, the author of the *Polyglot Lexicon*, whose labours will be noticed in

the next chapter, in connexion with those of Pocock.

⁹⁰ Neal, ii. 208; and p. 52, ante.

⁹¹ See p. 44, note.

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was nothing else than a movement of the non-conformist party to gain their own ends; and is, in no sense, worthy of being regarded as the expression of faithful ministers of our own communion. I do not however believe that this would be a right conclusion. The Assembly of Divines, it should be remembered, was not summoned until two years after the presentation of this Petition; and, although that was a brief interval, yet the growth of divisions within the same period became so rapid, from the combined operation of the many causes referred to in the preceding chapter, that it would not be safe to argue, that, because some persons who signed the Petition were found, at the end of that time, irreconcilably hostile to the polity and ordinances of the Church, therefore all who signed it were evil affected towards them at its commencement. On the contrary, there were several, among her most sincere and devoted ministers, who, seeing the conflict about to be waged between her and her many adversaries, threw themselves between the contending parties with the single desire to stop the collision; and, had their counsel been heard, and their example followed, the ruinous consequences of the shock might, even then, have been averted. These men, regarding only the high and holy duties to which the Petition referred, would neither disown its approval by Henderson and others from Scotland, if they were prepared to give it; nor stand aloof from others of their own communion, with whom, as the event proved, Henderson was found to sympathize

more intimately than with themselves. They looked to the wants of their fellow-countrymen and of the heathen in foreign lands; confessed the obligation which rested upon England to help them; and called upon the Parliament of England to discharge that obligation. This I believe to be the reason why we find the name of the celebrated Robert Sanderson, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, at the head of the London Clergy who bore testimony to the piety and need of Castell's Petition. None loved the Church of England more affectionately than did that great and good man. None acknowledged her authority more faithfully, obeyed it more reverently, or vindicated it more ably. Yet, he scrupled not in this Petition to co-operate, in all kindness and sincerity, with those who might differ from him, as long as he could do so without a compromise of principle. And, herein, he did but manifest the same conciliatory spirit which led him, as I have already remarked, to deprecate, in his letter to Archbishop Laud, the attempt made by that Prelate to force upon the Clergy the oath prescribed by the Canons of 1640⁹². He hereby promoted also, in another way, that work of mediation which we find, upon the authority of Izaak Walton, was entrusted to his hands in that fearful crisis. Walton makes no mention indeed of this Petition; but, in 1641,—the year in which the Petition was

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Sanderson's
name con-
nected with
it.

⁹² See note at p. 41.

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presented,—he states that Sanderson was deputed, with two more of the Convocation, to confer with certain persons who were anxious to impose the Scotch Covenant upon the English people, and to point out the method which seemed to him most likely to heal the differences between the two parties; ‘To this end,’ says Walton, ‘they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster’s house, for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderson had made the reformation ready for a view, the church and state were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderson’s model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless, his reputation was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King, then in Oxford, to be one of the trustees for the settling of church affairs, and was allowed of the King to be so: but that treaty came to nothing⁹³.’ That Sanderson should have failed in effecting a reconciliation, under such circumstances, is nothing wonderful. But, that he should have made the attempt, and persevered in renewing it, as long as he was able; and, that, in the midst of the appalling dangers which pressed upon him at home, he should have remembered his brethren in distant climes, and done what in him lay to help them, are facts

⁹³ Walton’s Life of Sanderson, pp. 298, 299. It is hardly necessary to repeat what has been said before in p. 52, that, when the Assembly of Divines was summoned, although Sanderson’s name was in the list, he never attended their sittings.

which, after the lapse of more than two centuries, ought not to be forgotten. CHAP.
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The difficulties of his brethren, in those distant Increasing difficulties of Virginia. climes which we are now contemplating, rapidly increased. The proceedings in England, which made havoc of the temporal possessions of the Church, and assailed her spiritual ordinances,—forbidding, as we have seen, under pains and penalties, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and making the observance of the Directory for public worship compulsory upon all,—soon made themselves felt in Virginia. The same quick success, indeed, did not there follow the abettors of such proceedings; for Berkeley was brave as he was loyal, and the majority of the Colonists stood firmly by him. So little moved were they, indeed, at first by what was passing at home, that the Acts which we have lately recited,—with respect to the residence and other duties of the Clergy, the appointment of fasts and thanksgiving, the office of lecturers, and the alteration of the bounds of Parishes,—were passed in those very years of Berkeley's government, which witnessed the ascendancy of the Presbyterian party in England and the execution of Archbishop Laud. Nevertheless, as time passed on, a gradual disaffection towards the Church may be observed spreading among the inhabitants of the Colony, and influencing some even to the Clergy themselves. This feeling, it was now attempted to check,—not, as it might and ought to have been, by taking care to have provided in pro-

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per time a sufficient number of faithful and devoted men,—but by a Statute of the Grand Assembly. Thus, on the third of November, 1647,—some months after the seizure of the person of Charles the First,—the following enactment was passed:—

Vpon divers informations presented to this Assembly against severall ministers for their neglects and refractory refusing after warning given them to read common prayer or divine service vpon the Sabbath dayes, contrary to the canons of the church and acts of parliament therein established; for future remedie hereof: *Be it enacted by the Gov.^r Council and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly,* That all ministers in their severall cures throughout the collony doe duely vpon every Sabbath day read such prayers as are appointed and prescribed vnto them by the said booke of common prayer, And be it further enacted as a penaltie to such as have neglected or shall neglect their duty herein, That no parishioner shall be compelled either by distresse or otherwise to pay any manner of tythes or duties to any unconformist as aforesaid⁹⁴.

She resists
the Com-
monwealth.

Such was the language held by the rulers of Virginia, and such the pains taken by them to uphold publicly the ordinances of the Church within her borders, at the very time when she was laid prostrate at home, and her scattered children were enabled, only in secret places and amid dangers and alarms, to observe any portion of her ritual. And, when at length the tidings reached them that Charles had died upon the scaffold, they boldly disavowed the whole course of proceedings which led to that fatal issue. It was the declaration of the first Act passed by them afterwards, October 10, 1649, that, whatso-

⁹⁴ Hening, i. 341.

ever person, whether stranger or inhabitant of the Colony, should go about to defend the late traitorous proceedings, or call in question the undoubted and inherent right of Charles the Second to the supreme government of Virginia, and all the rest of his dominions; or should spread abroad among the people any thing that might tend to lessen the power and authority of the Governor or Government, then existing in the Colony, either in civil or ecclesiastical causes, should be judged guilty of high treason ⁹⁵.

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But it was impossible that this refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Commonwealth could long be maintained. Cromwell's energy, triumphant in England, Ireland, and Scotland, soon made itself felt in every part of the English possessions abroad; and, in 1651, a squadron of Sir George Ayscue's fleet,—which had already forced Barbados and other islands in the West Indies to yield to the Protector, —extorted the like submission from Virginia. Commissioners were appointed by the Council of State in England, for the purpose of seeing that due obedience was rendered to the Commonwealth. Their instructions were to ensure pardon and indemnity to all inhabitants of the Colony, who should acknowledge their authority; and to oppress, by every means in their power, all who rejected it. They were, further, 'to cause the several Acts of Parliament

Submits
in 1651.

⁹⁵ Ibid. i. 359—361.

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Articles of
Surrender.

against Kingship and the House of Lords to be received and published, as also the Acts for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and for subscribing the Engagement, and all other Acts therewith delivered ⁹⁶. Nevertheless, the Articles of Surrender plainly show, that the Commissioners were not able, or thought it not prudent, to carry these instructions into effect. For, not only were full remission and indemnity granted for all acts done by the Colonists against the Commonwealth, and the privileges contained under former Patents still secured to them; but the use of the Book of Common Prayer was permitted for one year, provided that the matters contained in it concerning the monarchy were not made public; the Clergy also were continued in their places; and the payment of their accustomed dues retained for the same period. Moreover, neither Berkeley, nor the members of the Council, were to be obliged to take any oath or engagement to the Commonwealth for a whole year, nor to 'be censured for praying for or speaking well of the King, during the same period, in their private houses or neighbouring conference.' They were also to have full liberty to sell their estates; to depart without molestation, at the end of a year, for Holland or England; and, in case of going to the latter, to be exempt from arrest for six months after their arrival ⁹⁷. Richard Benett, one

⁹⁶ Thurloe's State Papers, i. Whitehall, Sept. 26, 1651.
197, 198. These Instructions are
signed by Bradshawe, and dated ⁹⁷ Hening, i. 363—367.

of the Commissioners, was elected Governor by the Grand Assembly⁹⁸, in the room of Berkeley; and Clayborne,—whose treacherous and greedy spirit had tempted him to be made another of the Commissioners,—of course found no difficulty in retaining the same office of Secretary which he had filled under the former government⁹⁹.

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The Acts worthy of notice in the records of the Colonial Legislature at this time, are, one passed in 1654-5, providing that Indian children, when taken as servants, should be brought up in the Christian religion¹⁰⁰; and others in 1655-6, with reference to the provision designed generally for the spiritual wants of Virginia:—

Acts of the
Assembly
respecting
Indian
children,
Parishes,
and Minis-
ters in
1654-6.

Whereas there are many places destitute of ministers, and like still to continue soe, the people content not payinge their accustomed dues, which makes them negligent to procure those which should teach and instruct them, soe by this improvident saveing they loose the greatest benefitt and comfort a Christian can have, by hearing the word and vse of the blessed sacraments, *Therefore be it enacted by this present Grand Assembly,* That all countys not laid out in parishes shall be divided into parishes the next county court after publication hereof, and that all tithable persons in every parish within this collony respectively, in the vacancy of their minister, pay 15lb. of tobacco per poll yearly, and that tobacco to be deposited in the hands of the commissioners of the severall counties, to be by them disposed of in the first place for the building of a parish church, and after-

⁹⁸ Not only Bennett, but all his successors, Digges in 1655, Mathews in 1656, and Berkeley in 1659, were likewise appointed by the Assembly, and not by the Parliament or Cromwell, as Robertson

and other historians have said. Ib. 5, and note to p. 526.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 371.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 410. Another act was passed in 1657, making it penal to steal an Indian. Ibid. 481.

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wards the surplusage thereof (if any be) to go towards the purchasing of a gleab and stock for the next minister that shall be settled there: Provided that the vestrys of the severall parishes be responsible for the said tobacco so leaved¹⁰¹.

The resemblance of the language in the above Act to that of many which have been already cited with respect to Church matters, and the entire absence of any public proof that any other mode of conducting Divine worship, save that according to the rites of our Church, was then recognized in the Colony, make it highly probable that the toleration of its Book of Common Prayer, which had been expressly granted for a year, when Virginia was first brought under the Commonwealth, was still connived at.

One of the Acts concerning ministers was designed to give increased facilities for the introduction of them into the Colony, and is thus expressed:—

Whereas many congregations in this collony are destitute of ministers whereby religion and devotion cannot but suffer much impairment and decay, which want of the destitute congregations ought to be supplied by all meanes possible to be vsed, As also to invite and encourage ministers to repaire thither and merchants to bring them in, *Bee it therefore hereby enacted* for the reasons aforesaid, That what person or persons soever shall at his or their proper cost and charge transport a sufficient minister into this collony without agreement made with him, shall receive for satisfaction of his or their said charges of him the said minister or they that shall entertaine him for their minister, twenty pounds sterling by bill of exchange or two thousand

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 399.

pounds of tobacco, and also for what money shall be disbursed for them besides their transportation to be allowed for ¹⁰².

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In the same session was passed another Act,

For encouragement of the ministers in the country and that they may be the better enabled to attend both publick commands and their private cures, It is ordered, that from henceforth each minister, in his owne person with six other servants of his family shall be free from publique levies, Allwaies provided they be examined by Mr. Phillip Mallory and Mr. John Green, and they to certifie their abilities to the Governour and Councill, who are to proceed according to their judgement ¹⁰³.

I trace in this Act another proof of the conclusion already drawn, that the ministrations of Christianity, as far as they were then exhibited in Virginia, were, in substance, conducted according to the rites of our Church: for the Philip Mallory, here named as one of the examiners, is he whom I have already noticed, by anticipation, as the clergyman who was selected, on account of his eminent faithfulness and diligence, to undertake the promotion of the Church affairs of the Colony in England, after the Restoration ¹⁰⁴. It is perfectly true, as Hening has observed, that no formal injunction of obedience to the doctrines and discipline of our Church is to be found in any of the legislative proceedings of the Grand Assembly during the Commonwealth; and that all matters relating to the ministers and other parochial affairs, were left to the discretion of the people ¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless, it is equally true,—and the testimonies which

¹⁰² Ibid. 418.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 424.

¹⁰⁴ See note p. 131.

¹⁰⁵ Hening, i. 430 note: also Act for settling Church government in 1657-8. Ibid. 433.

CHAP. XIV. } have just been cited prove,—that, in the exercise of their discretion, the majority of the people were anxious to retain, and did retain, the teaching of the Church of England.

Acts for
restrain-
ing crime
and observ-
ing the
Sabbath.

Another Act of the Colonial Legislature, at this time, decreed that all persons guilty of drunkenness, or blaspheming, or swearing, or scandalous living in adultery and fornication, should be held incapable of being witnesses, or of bearing any public office in the government. Pecuniary fines also were exacted of such offenders in extreme cases. And, upon those who did not keep the Sabbath holy, who journeyed on that day (except in cases of great emergency), who loaded boats, or fired off guns, or committed any other act deemed to be a profanation of it, was imposed the payment of a hundred pounds of tobacco, or the punishment of being laid in the stocks¹⁰⁶. In these enactments, the reader will observe a continuance of the same spirit of legislation which had prevailed in that age, both at home and in the Colony; and a closer approximation, in some respects, to the Puritan discipline of the neighbouring settlements in New England. The stringency of such regulations may probably be accounted for by the frequent recurrence of the offences which they were intended to check;—offences, from some of which it would appear that the legislators themselves were not exempt, for it was one of the orders of the House of Assembly,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 433, 434. 438.

passed in 1658-9, 'that the first time any member of this house shall by the major part of the house be adjudged to be disguised with overmuch drinke he shall forfeit one hundred pounds of tobacco,' &c.¹⁰⁷ CHAP.
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In the same year, Virginia received intelligence of the death of Oliver Cromwell, and orders to proclaim forthwith his son Richard as Lord Protector. After some hesitation, the Governor and Council expressed, in general terms, the recognition of the authority thus imposed on them; and Committees of the General Assembly were formed for the purpose of securing, under the new government, the privileges which the Colony had enjoyed in former years¹⁰⁸. The reckless and indefatigable Clayborne, after a brief surrender of his office of Secretary of State, in 1657-8, was again appointed to it; and contrived to be confirmed therein, even after the authority of the Commonwealth ceased to be recognized¹⁰⁹.

That issue soon arrived; and the conduct of the Virginians showed that they were eager to welcome it. Their submission to the Commonwealth had been only of necessity; and, even under such circumstances, as we have seen, had never been complete. The conditions, which they obtained upon their first surrender, although granted only for a time, were, in many respects, virtually prolonged Loyalty of
Virginia.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 508.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 507—513. Among these privileges, Hening has clearly shown, in contradiction to all the American and English historians

of this period, that Virginia was entitled to that of free trade with all the world.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 503. 523. 547.

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throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth. They elected their own Governors; the members of their Council and their House of Burgesses were, for the most part, the same as they had been in the reign of the First Charles; and the affections of the majority of the people were still with his son, the King, in his exile. Many of the Royalist party, moreover, exiles, like their King, from home, found Berkeley's house and purse open to them in Virginia¹¹⁰. Charles himself looked to it as a country in which his authority was still respected; for he sent thither a commission from Breda, in 1650, to Berkeley, as Governor¹¹¹; and Clarendon informs us that Berkeley, at one time, wrote to the King, inviting him to Virginia, as his surest resting-place¹¹². Hence, feelings of enthusiastic devotion to the monarchy were kept alive among the inhabitants of the province; feelings, akin to those which animated so many of their countrymen at home, and which the poet, whose wit and learning will ever be associated with the history of that age, has so well described, when he says, that,

' though out-number'd, overthrown,
And by the fate of war run down,

[Their

¹¹⁰ Colonel Norwood's Narrative in Churchill's *Voyages*, vi. 145. Norwood went out to Virginia, with several of the Royalist officers, in 1649. He was led to choose that province as a place of refuge, partly because he was related to Berkeley, and partly because the expenditure required for carrying on sugar-works at Barbados,—the most attractive asylum then open

to the discomfited Royalists,—was greater than he and his companions could bear. *Ibid.* Norwood appears afterwards to have been employed in making a survey of the Bermudas, to which reference will be made at the end of this chapter.

¹¹¹ Chalmers, 122.

¹¹² Clarendon, vi. 610, 611.

Their duty never was defeated,
 Nor from their oaths and faith retreated ;
 For loyalty is still the same,
 Whether it win or lose the game ;
 True as the dial to the Sun,
 Although it be not shined upon ¹¹² :

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The refusal of Berkeley, in fact, to leave Virginia, at the close of the year originally granted to him; the permission which he then obtained to stay eight months longer ¹¹⁴; his determination, at the end of that period, to remain still in the province; his re-appointment by the Assembly to the office of Governor, upon the death of Mathews, in March, 1659-60; the declaration, which the Assembly then made, that the supreme government of the country should be vested in their body, until such a commission as they adjudged lawful should come out from England; and their determination to regard, as null and void, all laws, and clauses in laws, inconsistent with their own government ¹¹⁵; are so many distinct evidences to show that the spirit, which led to

Berkeley
 reappointed
 Governor
 1659-60.

¹¹² Hudibras, Part iii. Canto ii.

¹¹⁴ Hening, i. 384. Burk justly notices this as an act of great generosity on the part of the Governor and Council, ii. 100. It ought also to have been noticed, as a most remarkable homage to the excellence of Berkeley's character, and expressive of the sympathy which the Colonial Council (though acting under the Commonwealth) felt towards him. Robertson erroneously states that Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself. Works, xi. 237. Many other of Robertson's statements with respect to this period of Virginia's history are very inaccurate: but it should

be remembered, in extenuation of this, that the publication of the ninth and tenth Books of his History of America was a posthumous work; and that his son, not having the guidance of later authorities to aid him, gave the manuscript as he found it. Grahame has repeated Robertson's blunder in nearly his words, i. 100; and for him there is not the same excuse.

¹¹⁵ Hening, i. 527—531. Burk wishes to prove that Berkeley's reappointment was the act of a mob, and not that of the authorities of Virginia, ii. 120:—a statement quite at variance with the Acts recited by Hening.

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the Restoration in England, was already anticipated in Virginia; and that, even if the assertion of most historians be incorrect, that the Royal Standard was then set up in the province¹¹⁶, there were, nevertheless, hands ready to unfurl it, and voices to bid it a joyous welcome, many months before the tidings came across the Atlantic that it was again actually seen waving upon the forts and palaces of the mother country.

Philip
Mallory.

One of the earliest appointments made under Berkeley's renewed government, was that of Philip Mallory to be chaplain of the Assembly. I have already referred to the excellent character of this clergyman, and to the evidence, afforded by his appointment as examiner of those who came out during the Protectorate, that the Church, in spite of all discouragements, still retained her hold upon the hearts of the Virginians. The Act, notifying his present appointment, shows that he had officiated, in the same capacity, before the two preceding Assemblies; and, apparently, without any salary. But now, a remuneration was publicly ordered to be made to him for his services; and it was further ordered that he and Mr. Peter Lansdale should 'be desired to preach at James towne the next Assembly¹¹⁷.'

Act against
Quakers.

It had been well, if the public acts of the Assembly under Berkeley's administration at this time, and their efforts to re-establish and uphold the

¹¹⁶ Hening thinks, with good reason, that if the assertion were correct, some notice of the fact must have been found in the records of the Assembly; but none appears. Ibid. 544 note.
¹¹⁷ Ibid. 549.

ministrations of the Church within the province, had been confined to proceedings such as these. But truth compels me to state that it was this same Governor and Council of Virginia from whom emanated, during the same period, the fiercest opposition against the admission of Quakers into the province. The preamble, indeed, of the Act for their suppression, sets forth that Quakers were 'an unreasonable and turbulent set of people,' who, by their 'lies, miracles, false visions, prophecies, and doctrines, disturbed the public peace and weakened the bonds of civil society: and, so far, it may be said, that the Virginians were justified, by what they believed to be the necessity of the case, in excluding them. The rigorous proceedings also which, under Cromwell, were instituted against Quakers at home, and which the Puritans renewed with such eagerness in the Colonies of New England, may be regarded as a further apology for the hostile spirit manifested against them in Virginia. Nevertheless, after every allowance which may fairly be made upon these several grounds, it is impossible to read, without a blush, the decree which exacted the penalty of a hundred pounds sterling from the master or commander of any vessel who should bring a Quaker into the Colony; that all Quakers who might arrive should be at once imprisoned, until they had given security to depart; that fresh penalties were to be imposed upon them, if they came a second time; and, that, if they returned a third time, they were to be proceeded against as felons;

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that no person was to entertain Quakers, or to permit any of their assemblies to be held in or near his house, upon pain of paying a hundred pounds; and that none should presume, upon their peril, to dispose of, or publish, any books or pamphlets which proclaimed their tenets ¹¹⁸.

Maryland
during the
Protector-
ate.

Reserving for future notice the fortunes of Virginia in the reign of Charles the Second, and the evils which, it will be then seen, accrued to her Church in consequence of the events related in the present chapter, I will glance for a moment at the condition of Maryland, during the present time. The account already given of the first settlement of this Colony will have shown that our Church was denied the power of setting up, at the same time, within its borders, any token of her distinctive character; and, therefore, all that I am now required to do, is to take such notice of the events which took place, between that period and the close of the Protectorate, as may suffice to make its subsequent history intelligible to the reader. The mild and equitable rule, indeed, of the Roman Catholic Lord Baltimore, would have shielded the members of our Church, as well as others, from persecution; but the mere fact, that powers so vast as those conveyed under the Charter of Maryland were entrusted to a Roman Catholic Proprietor, was sufficient, under any circumstances, to deter most of the members of our own com-

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 532.

munion, whether in England or America, from selecting that province for their abode; and the jealousy, with which the Virginians naturally regarded a Colony, planted in lands once belonging to themselves, was an additional reason why the Churchmen of their body should not have wished to fraternize with their neighbours beyond the Potomac.

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In 1649, during the administration of William Stone,—to whom, after the retirement of his brother Leonard, Baltimore delegated the government of Maryland,—an Act was passed by the Assembly, which bears such remarkable testimony to the extent of religious divisions, introduced even at that early period into the Colony, and to the departure from their professions of toleration which its rulers were compelled to make, in their efforts to repress them, that I cannot but call the reader's attention to it. It ordered that

(1) Blasphemy against God, denying our Saviour JESUS CHRIST to be the Son of God, or denying the Holy TRINITY or the Godhead of any of the Three Persons, &c. was to be punished with death, and confiscation of lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary. (2) Persons using any reproachful words or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of our Saviour, or the Holy Apostles and Evangelists, or any of them, for the 1st offence to forfeit 5*l.* sterling to the Lord Proprietary; or, in default of payment, to be publicly whipped, and imprisoned at the pleasure of his Lordship, or his Lieut. General. For the 2nd offence to forfeit 10*l.* sterling, or in default of payment to be publicly and severely whipped, and imprisoned as before directed. And for the 3rd offence to forfeit lands and goods, and to be forever banished out of the Province. (3) Persons reproaching any other within the Province by the name or denomination of Here-

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tic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Round-Head, Separatist, or any other Name or Term, in a reproachful manner, relating to matter of Religion, to forfeit 10*s.* sterling for each offence; one half to the person reproached, the other half to his Lordship: Or, in default of payment, to be publicly whipped, and suffer imprisonment without bail or mainprize, until the offender shall satisfy the party reproached, by asking him or her respectively forgiveness publicly for such offence, before the chief officer or magistrate of the town or place where the offence shall be given. (4) Persons profaning the Lord's Day by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or by any uncivil or disorderly recreation, or by working on that day (unless in case of absolute necessity), to forfeit for the 1st offence 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, for the 2nd offence 5*s.* sterling, and for the 3rd offence, and for every other offence afterwards 10*s.* sterling; and in default of payment, for the 1st and 2nd offence, to be imprisoned till he or she shall publicly, in open Court, before the chief Commander, Judge, or Magistrate, of that County, Town, or Precinct, wherein such offence be committed, acknowledge the scandal and offence he hath in that respect given against God, and the good and civil government of this Province; and for the 3rd offence, and every time after, to be publicly whipped. (5) And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matter of religion, hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this Province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity among the inhabitants, &c. No person or persons whatsoever, within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbours, Creeks, or Havens, thereunto belonging, professing to believe in JESUS CHRIST, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for, or in respect of his or her Religion, nor in the free exercise thereof, within this Province, or the Islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion, against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to

the Lord Proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government established, or to be established, in this Province, under him or his heirs. And any person presuming, contrary to this Act and the true intent and meaning thereof, directly or indirectly, either in person or estate, wilfully to disturb, wrong, trouble, or molest, any person whatsoever within this Province professing to believe in JESUS CHRIST, for or in respect of his or her Religion, or the free exercise thereof within this Province, otherwise than is provided for in this Act, shall pay treble damages to the party so wronged and molested, and also forfeit 20s. sterling for every such offence, &c. one half to his Lordship, the other half to the party molested, and on default of paying the damage or fine, be punished by public whipping, and imprisonment at the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary¹¹⁹, &c.

The latter part of this Act breathes the spirit of toleration which animated the first proprietors of Maryland. But it is strangely inconsistent with the first part. For, how could the profession of a desire to preserve the rights of conscience, or to secure to all persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, the free exercise of their religion, be in accordance with an enactment which provided that death, or confiscation of lands and goods, should follow the denial of the Holy Trinity? or that fines, and whipping, and imprisonment, should be inflicted upon any person who spoke reproachful words concerning the Virgin Mary? The opinion expressed by the late eminent American Judge Story, may perhaps account for the first clause of the above enactment; for he says, that, in those days, no sect

¹¹⁹ Bacon's Laws, 1649. This was confirmed among the perpetual laws, 1676.

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of Christians thought it possible that a belief in the divine mission of our Blessed Lord, could consist with the denial of any part of the doctrine of the Trinity¹²⁰. But the second can only be accounted for by the necessity, which Baltimore felt was laid upon him, to vindicate from insult some of the distinguishing doctrines of his own creed. He might have been justified in doing this; especially since the deputy-governor, and secretary, and certain members of the Maryland Council, were not Roman Catholics¹²¹. But, at all events, it was a departure from those principles of government to which his father and he would willingly have adhered; and evidently forced upon him by the crowds of clamorous sectaries pouring into his province, and striving to outvie each other in fierce intolerance. The disputes, in fact, which arose from this and other causes, between the various settlers in Maryland and its proprietors, are the chief materials which compose its history at this time.

The most important of these were the disputes carried on by certain Puritans, who had emigrated from Virginia. I have adverted to the circumstances under which the sympathy of some of the Virginians with the New England Puritans had been checked by a law of the Grand Assembly¹²²: and it seems that, either the same party, who were then compelled to leave Virginia, or another congregation

¹²⁰ Story's Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States, i. 96.

¹²¹ Langford's Refutation of Babylon's Fall in Maryland, 26.

¹²² See p. 145.

of Independents, who found their way thither soon afterwards, sought and obtained a place of refuge in Maryland. A contemporary writer, indeed, to whose testimony I have before adverted¹³³, states, that a whole county of the richest land in the province was assigned to them, with full liberty of conscience, and leave to appoint their own officers, and to hold courts for the management of their own affairs. The celebrated oath of toleration, also, which I have said had been appointed, from the first, to be taken by the Governor and Council of Maryland¹³⁴, gave additional security to the privileges thus conferred upon the emigrants; and, in consequence, 'they sat downe joyfully,' says the above-named writer, 'followed their vocations cheerfully, and increased in their province, and divers others were by this encouraged and invited over from Virginia. But these people (he continues) finding themselves in a capacitie not only to capitulate, but to oversway those that had so received and invited them, began to pick quarrels, first with the Papists, next with the oath, and lastly declared their averseness to all conformalitie, wholly agreeing (as themselves since confessed) to deprive the Lord Proprietor of all his interest in that county, and make it their own¹³⁵.'

The chief supporters of the Puritans, in these nefarious proceedings, were Clayborne, whom the writer designates 'a pestilent enemy to the welfare of that province,' and Bennett, the first Governor

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¹³³ See p. 132.

¹³⁵ Leah and Rachel, 21—23.

¹³⁴ See p. 126.

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of Virginia under the Commonwealth. Taking advantage of the authority given to them as Commissioners of the English Parliament, they contrived, in 1652, by a train of violent and dishonest proceedings, which it is needless here to enumerate, to dispossess Stone of his government¹²⁶; and transferred the administration of the province to ten Commissioners named by themselves. 'But it was not religion,' adds the writer already quoted, 'it was not punctilios they stood upon; it was that sweete, that rich, that large county they aimed at; and therefore agreed amongst themselves to frame petitions, complaints, and subscriptions from these bandetoes to themselves (the said Bennett and Clayborne) to ease them of their pretended sufferings; and then come with arms, and againe make the province their own, exalting themselves in all places of trust and command, totally expulsiug the Governor, and all the hospitable Proprietor officers out of their places¹²⁷.'

The accuracy of the description here given of the rapacity and cruelty of the Commonwealth Commissioners, whilst they lorded it in Maryland, is amply demonstrated by the character of the laws which they forced its Assembly to pass, at that period.

¹²⁶ It is stated, in the Preface to Bacon's Laws, that Governor Stone was taken prisoner, and ordered to be shot, but that the soldiers, unto whom, no less than unto others, he had endeared himself by the just exercise of the powers delegated to him, refused to execute

the sentence. A most touching letter from Stone's wife to Baltimore is given in the Postscript to Langford's Refutation, &c. 19—22.

¹²⁷ Leah and Rachel, 24, 25. Also Langford's Refutation, &c. 4 and 10.

Their 'Act concerning Religion,' for instance, was in these terms :

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That none who professed and exercised the Popish (commonly called the Roman Catholic) Religion, could be protected in this Province, by the laws of England, formerly established, and yet unrepealed : Nor by the government of the Commonwealth of England, &c. but to be restrained from the exercise thereof, &c. That such as profess faith in GOD by JESUS CHRIST, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline, publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but protected in, the profession of the faith, and exercise of their Religion ; so as they abused not this liberty to the injury of others, disturbance of the peace, &c. Provided such liberty was not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such, as under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness ¹²⁸.

The joy, with which tidings of such tyrannical proceedings were received by the party who sympathized with them, at the same time, in England, is testified in a pamphlet then published, and entitled 'Babylon's Fall in Maryland:' and, although the charges in the pamphlet were speedily proved to be false and scandalous by Langford, an adherent of Lord Baltimore, yet the evil was not removed. That nobleman and his friends still found themselves, both abroad and at home, reviled, and thwarted, and oppressed, by the very men to whom they had been the first to afford protection and peace.

Baltimore, notwithstanding, applied himself, with a resolute and strong hand, to stem the tide which threatened to overwhelm him ; and, had he received from Cromwell the assistance to which he was entitled,

¹²⁸ Bacon's Laws, 1654.

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all grounds, real or pretended, of opposition against his authority, would have been removed. But those who molested the peace of Maryland were Cromwell's supporters; and not a word of censure was pronounced against them. In 1656-7, the government was delivered, by the Commonwealth Commissioners, into the hands of Josias Fendall, as the deputy of Baltimore. He proved himself unworthy of that high trust: and, at length, an imperfect compromise was effected between the contending parties; the effect of which was to leave within the province,—still nominally under the government of its original proprietor,—the elements of a fierce and destructive antagonism in active operation ¹²⁹.

Here, then, I leave, for the present, the consideration of Maryland; only remarking, what indeed must be obvious to every reader, that it is impossible to imagine a state of things more unfavourable for the future planting of our own Church in the Colony than that which has been here described.

The Ber-
mudas.

Of the condition of the Church in the Bermudas, during the period reviewed in the present chapter, I have been able to gather only very scanty information. The materials, derived from the narratives preserved in Smith and Purchas, which assisted me so greatly in my first Volume ¹³⁰,

¹²⁹ M' Mahon states, p. 18, that, soon after the Commonwealth had thus restored the government of Maryland to its original proprietor,

Clayborne, who had so long troubled the Colony, died.

¹³⁰ See the beginning of the eleventh chapter.

are exhausted; and I have not yet been able to discover any which can be at all compared with them. Smith himself, indeed, becomes again our guide for a short period; but his renewed notice of the Bermudas only reaches to the year 1629, when, as he relates, the government of Captain Philip Bell expired ¹³¹, and Captain Roger Wood succeeded to him, 'a worthy gentleman of desert.' All that Smith states of the inhabitants of these Islands, in the account to which I now refer, is comprised in a single paragraph; but, brief as it is, the reader may recognize marks of the same nervous and racy style which gave so much interest to his early chronicles of Virginia ¹³². The numbers of the inhabitants, he says, 'are about 2 or 3000 men, women, and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint is want of apparel, and too much custom, and too many officers; the pity is, there are no more men than women, yet no great mischief, because there is so much less pride: the cattle they have increase exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the merchants here, and planters there; to be brief, this isle is an excellent bit to rule a great horse ¹³³.'

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The Bermudas became, like Virginia and Barbados, an asylum for the defeated Royalists at the close of

¹³¹ From the identity of his name and office, it is probable that this was the Philip Bell, who was afterwards appointed governor of Barbados, and whose excellent administration of that Island will be

noticed in the next chapter.

¹³² See Vol. i. c. viii. ix. xii. in loc.

¹³³ Smith's Travels, &c., in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 402.

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the Civil War: but from none of their writings have I been able to gain the slightest information which helps me in the prosecution of my present enquiries. The poet Waller is supposed by some persons to have been, at one time, a resident in these Islands; and the minute description which he has given of their beautiful scenery and productions, in his poem relating the Battle with the Whales, is such as hardly could have been drawn but by an eye-witness. Notwithstanding, great doubt is expressed by the earliest biographer of Waller, whether he ever set foot upon those shores; and nothing has since been advanced which removes the doubt¹²⁴. One point, however, is quite clear, that, whether Waller visited the Bermudas or not, his influence could have availed but little towards the spread or maintenance of sound religious feelings among his countrymen who resorted thither in their hour of distress. A man, so utterly devoid of integrity and consistency of purpose himself, was not fitted to inspire or sustain those qualities in the hearts of others.

But Royalists were not the only parties that fled for refuge to the Bermudas. Both during and after the Civil War, several of their opponents, who had suffered persecution on account of their religious tenets, likewise resorted thither. And it is not a little remarkable, that another writer of this age, Andrew Marvell,—whose character was in most respects the very reverse of that of Waller, and many

¹²⁴ See Johnson's Life of Waller, in loc.

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the difficulties caused by such unhappy differences, the members of our Church in these Islands strove, as they best could, to set up the ensigns of her holy worship among their countrymen who flocked thither. And the simple fact, which we shall find recorded in the above documents, that in the year 1679 there were not less than nine Churches in the Islands, affords the strongest ground for believing, that, during the present period of misrule and turmoil, the hands of many of our brethren must have been engaged in building up these Houses of Prayer.

I may here mention, as a further illustration of their desire to honour the sanctuary of God, a fact communicated to me, a few years since, in a most interesting account of the Bermudas, which I received from Mrs. Spencer, wife of the present Bishop of Jamaica; namely, that there is still preserved in one of the Churches, an old silver Flagon, bearing date 1640, which was presented as a gift to the Church in Hamilton Parish.

Before I close this chapter, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity to correct an error into which I was betrayed, in my first Volume, through a statement of Stith, a writer, in general, most accurate. Following his guidance, I had said that the Bermudas or Somers Islands Company, was dissolved at the same time with that of Virginia, in 1624; but Her Majesty's Attorney-General for the Colony, Mr. Darrell, has kindly sent me a communication through the present Bishop of Newfoundland, and called my attention to the fact that the Bermudas Company was

not suppressed until the reign of Charles the Second, by virtue of a Quo Warranto writ prosecuted in the King's Bench, in 1684; preparatory to which proceeding, commissioners had been appointed by direction of the Privy Council in England to examine the records of the Company. I have since met with additional manuscripts in the State Paper Office, which supply some interesting particulars with reference to this and other parts of the history of the Bermudas; and will notice them hereafter.

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I find, also, from information forwarded to me from the same quarter, that Peckard's statement, respecting Copeland, the zealous chaplain of the Royal James, East Indiaman, that he was afterwards 'a minister of the Somers Islands,' is literally true. I had thought that there was some reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement, which occurs incidentally in his *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*¹²⁶; and am now thankful to find that the man, whose energy and love were so conspicuous in exciting the sympathies of others in behalf of our earliest Colonies, should have been permitted to manifest the same, in his own person, by his faithful ministrations in one of them. It appears, from Norwood's Survey of the Bermudas, made in 1662, and still preserved among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, that a tract of land in Paget's Tribe was 'given to the Free School by Mr. Patrick Copeland, sometime Minister of the

¹²⁶ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

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Word in this Tribe¹³⁷. 'This land, I am sorry to learn, has since been appropriated to other purposes; but its donor has not been forgotten. The name of Copeland, Mr. Darrell informs me, is retained, as a Christian Name, by several families in the Islands to the present time; and thus the memory of that faithful and devoted minister of Christ who,—whilst he was returning from India, on board the vessel of which he was chaplain,—formed his first plans for the evangelization of the Western hemisphere, is still, after an interval of more than two hundred years, cherished, with pious gratitude, in these distant Islands of the Atlantic.

¹³⁷ No. 6699. I find also, upon a closer examination of this document, the following passage: 'two shares of land given to the free school by Mr. Farrar, in Pembroke Tribe:'—a remarkable illustration of the affectionate and devoted spirit by which, in my first Volume, I have shown that

these holy men, Copeland and Ferrar, were animated; and to the efforts which they both made to promote the welfare of our Colonies. For the names, &c., of the eight Tribes into which the Bermudas has been divided during Tucker's government, see Vol. i. c. xi. in loc.

CHAPTER XV.

WEST INDIES, AFRICA, INDIA, AND THE LEVANT, IN
THE TIME OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND THE COM-
MONWEALTH.

A. D. 1625—1660.

WEST INDIES—Nevis, Barbuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Antigua, acquired by the English, under Charles the First—Featly's Farewell Sermon to the West India Company, 1629—Hindrances in the way of his appeal—Especially in Barbados—The first planting of the Church in that Island—Governor Bell—Acts relating to Public Worship—Reflections thereon—Ligon's History—His character of the Planters—Disgraceful treatment of servants—And of slaves—Barbados yields to the Commonwealth, 1651—Jamaica taken, 1655—Reasons inducing Cromwell to this act.—Jamaica during the Commonwealth—Guiana under Charles the First—Sentiments of those who promoted its plantation—Slavery—AFRICA—The English sometimes enslaved by the Moors—Remedial measures—Fitz-Geffry's Sermons—The Second African Company, 1681—INDIA—Second East India Company, 1697—St. Helena acquired, 1651—Conflicting claims of the English and Dutch in India reconciled, 1654—Causes why no systematic effort was then made to evangelize India—Evils thereof—Wood's Holy Meditation for Seamen, chiefly those who sailed to India—Terry's Thanksgiving Sermon before the East India Company—Reynold's Sermon before the same—Evelyn's notice of it—The LEVANT COMPANY—Pocock, the Orientalist, their Chaplain, 1629—Appointed Laudian Professor of Arabic, 1636—Visits Constantinople—Returns to England, 1640-1—His duties—His trials—The benefit of his and kindred labours—Notice of Isaac Basire—Concluding reflections.

THE history of the New England Colonies, in the time of Charles the First and the Commonwealth, presents to our view a series of events as closely

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connected with each other as those which we have attempted to trace in the last chapter, during the same period, in connexion with Virginia and Maryland. It is also identified with the history of the mother country throughout the same epoch. I have thought it better, therefore, to defer the notice of all those Colonies, until I am able to give it in a connected form, which I propose doing in the course of the next chapter. In the present, I wish to direct the attention of the reader to those different regions of the West and East, in which the energies of the English nation were at this time employed, for the purposes either of colonization or trade; to mark, in each separate field of enterprise, the manner in which the Church of England remembered, and strove to fulfil, the duties which, we have said, were incumbent upon her by virtue of this enlargement of her sphere of operation¹; and to recount the difficulties which, under one or another shape, hindered her in the discharge of these responsibilities.

WEST
INDIES.

And, first, let us turn to the West Indies. I have already described, as briefly as I could, the circumstances under which the earliest possessions of the English were acquired in that quarter of the globe². The first was the Island of St. Christopher, or St. Kitt's, in which Warner had made a settlement towards the end of James the First's reign; and the proprietorship of which, and of the rest of

¹ See Vol. i. c. vi. ad fin.

² Ibid. c. xii. in loc.

the Caribbee Islands, had been conferred, in the first year of Charles the First, upon James Hay, the Earl of Carlisle, who assisted Warner in his enterprize³. The second was Barbados, upon which an English crew is said to have landed as early as the year 1605; but the formal settlement of which was not made until the last year of James the First's reign, when, by virtue of a grant conferred by that monarch upon Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, a band of colonists laid the foundations of James Town in the Island. Ley soon afterwards consented to waive his patent in favour of Carlisle, upon the payment of a sum of money; so that the entire jurisdiction and proprietorship of the only English possessions in the West Indies, at the beginning of Charles the First's reign, were vested wholly in the latter nobleman.

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Many more possessions were acquired by the English in the West Indies, during the period which is now passing in review before us. The first movement was made from St. Kitt's, under the direction of Warner, who, in 1628, passed thence to the small Island of Nevis, about half a league distant, and began a plantation upon it⁴. This was followed, in the same year, by the settlement of Barbuda,—a larger Island situated to the north-east,—which

Nevis, Barbuda, Bahamas, Montserrat, Antigua, acquired by the English, under Charles the First.

³ Some Frenchmen took joint possession of St. Kitt's, on the same day with Warner, and his English followers, upon his return thither in 1625; and the object of both was to have a place of safe retreat for the reception of the ships of

both nations at any time bound for America. Edwards's History of the West Indies, i. 424; Anderson's History of Commerce, in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 381.

⁴ Anderson, ut sup. 350, and 355.

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Warner also conducted⁵; and it is said that another party of English began, about the same time, to plant the Island of Providence, the chief of the Bahamas⁶. In reward for these services, Warner received the honour of knighthood; and, in 1632, extended still further the limits of the government assigned to him under the Earl of Carlisle, by planting the Island of Montserrat. Some few English families also, under the command of Warner's son, ventured to settle at the same time in Antigua; but little progress was then made towards any extensive colonization of the Island. In 1639, the Island of St. Lucia was added to the English possessions; but only for a time, and with disastrous consequences; for, two years afterwards, the English governor, and most of his followers, were murdered by the Carib natives, who thus took vengeance upon the English, for the grievous and cruel injuries which they had inflicted upon so many of their countrymen⁷.

⁵ Ibid. 356.

⁶ Ibid. 361. In the first commission granted for the government of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, Warner is designated a 'Gentleman.' (Appendix to 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' ii. 306.) Pére Du Tertre, in his History of the Antilles, speaks of him as 'un Capitaine Anglois, nommé Waërnard'; and, in 1632, he is described as General Sir Thomas Warner, 'Antigua,' &c. i. 44. The name of the Island is said to have been given to it by Columbus,—from St. Mary of An-

tigua at Seville,—when he discovered and abandoned it in 1493. Ibid. i. 9.

⁷ Anderson, ut sup. ii. 408; Account of the European Settlements in America, ii. 86. The particulars of the atrocities inflicted upon the Caribs, by both French and English settlers, are described by the French ecclesiastic, whose historical work is cited in the above note, with a composure which certainly does not indicate any strong sense, in his own mind, of the shameful wrong.

But they who were engaged in the extension of the English possessions in the West Indies, were not suffered to carry on that work, for the indulgence only of their own avarice or ambition, without hearing any word of Christian warning. It appears that, from the earliest settlement of St. Kitt's by our countrymen, a faithful and able minister of our Church had been at hand to restrain the violence, and to sanctify by the ordinances of the Gospel of Christ the diligence, of those who went out upon that expedition. His name was John Featly; and the Sermon which he preached at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, on the 6th of September, 1629,—before Sir Thomas Warner, and the rest of his Company bound to the West Indies,—is still extant, and shows the spirit in which he strove to discharge the duties of his sacred office ⁸. I have spoken, in my former Volume, of the Sermons, preached at different times before the Virginia Company, by Crashaw, and Symonds, and Donne ⁹; and they who have read carefully the extracts made from them, will be ready, I think, to admit, that, for faithfulness of Scriptural exposition, and for

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Featly's
Farewell
Sermon to
the West
India Com-
pany, 1629.

⁸ The reader must not confound the preacher of this Sermon with the well known Dr. Featly, who was chaplain of Archbishop Abbot, and afterwards of Charles the First; who appeared as a witness against Laud upon his trial (History of Laud's Troubles, 310—313); and who, although he was at first a member of the Assembly of Divines, was afterwards treated

with such shameful cruelty by that body. Neal, ii. 234. 387; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. 168—170. These two clergymen might have been, and probably were, relations; but the Christian name of the former was John, and that of the latter Daniel.

⁹ See the eighth and tenth chapters.

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animated and fervid eloquence, they are second to none which can be found upon the same subject in the records of our own or any other Church. The Sermon which I am now about to notice, may well challenge competition with them, even upon these grounds; but, in one respect, it possesses an interest which belongs not to any of the former; for he who preached it, as I have just remarked, had himself borne, and was again about to bear, a part in the work which he exhorted others to undertake. Thus, in his Dedication to the Earl of Carlisle, Featly states, that ‘the noble worth of’ his ‘deserving Commander, Sir Thomas Warner,’ had made him ‘a Traveller into the Indies, being thereby the first Preacher upon Saint Christopher’s Ilands;’ and, in another passage, he adds, according to the quaint fashion of that day, ‘If any carpe at it [the Sermon], peradventure it may proue a Mansenile apple (whereof I haue seene diuers in the Indies) that blisters the tongues of them that taste.’

His text is Joshua i. 9: “Have not I commanded thee? Be strong, and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for I will be with thee whithersoever thou goest.” He describes the text as one that ‘speakes in Thunder, and like the rowing Drum beates an Alarum;’ and, although the consideration of it, he admits, might not be welcome to some of his hearers, ‘whose homebred security desires to nuzle itselfe in the sweet repose of a happy peace;’ yet he declares that he chose it chiefly for the sake of those among them, whose

‘occasions’ then commanded them ‘to take leave of their Natiue Soile, that they might possesse the land of the Hittites and Amorites, the Habitations of Saluage Heathens, whose vnderstandings were neuer yet illuminated with the knowledge of their Maker.’ He next separates the text into two main divisions; the first, comprising the consideration of the Almighty Ruler, who gave this command and promise unto Joshua, and also the authority and fulness of each of them; the second, comprising the consideration of Joshua, who received this command and promise, and the duties, both positive and negative, to which he was thereby bound. In the prosecution of his purpose, Featly displays, with great powers of reasoning and store of learning, a spirit of deep and earnest piety. He was evidently one of the disciples of the Metaphysical School, which flourished in his day, and of whose members Johnson, in his admirable *Life of Cowley*, has truly said, that, ‘if they frequently threw away their wit upon false conceits, they likewise struck out some unexpected truth: if their conceits were far-fetched, they were often worth the carriage:’ and that, ‘to write on their plan, it was at least necessary to read and think ¹⁰.’ These remarks eminently apply to the arguments and illustrations with which Featly’s Sermon abounds; and, on this account, also, it is difficult to recast them in a condensed form. The pregnancy of his thoughts, and the terseness of his language, defy abridgment.

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¹⁰ Johnson’s Works, ix. 22.

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The practical application, however, of his argument, under each division of his Sermon, is too important to be overlooked; and I subjoin one or two specimens. In that part, for instance, which is directed to the consideration of the authority and fulness of the commission granted by the Almighty unto Joshua,—having shown the great privileges of the Israelites, to whom the commission had been first granted,—he extends the possession of them, in the following terms, to all then present, who should at any time undertake the commission of Joshua: ‘Let them be assured, that if God hath given them their authority with a “Have I not commanded thee?” the same God will also give them the Promise, “I will be with thee.” There is none heere but my speech must addresse itselfe vnto. Those that only walke in the streets, unlesse God hath giuen them his Promise to be with them, may feel his Iudgments by seuerall chances. Those that ride abroad without this Promise, may daily heare of the seuerall afflictions which they, as well as others, haue beene, or may be bitten with. But more particularly We, whose intent it is (with God’s assistance) to plough vp the foamie Billowes of the vast Ocean; whose Resolutions have commanded us to visite another World (as Geographers haue termed it), Wee (I say) must first be sure that our Commission runs in the words of my text, “Have I not commanded thee?” and then doubt not but the Promise will ensue vpon it, “I will be with thee.” “I will be with thee,” Ioshua, not at this time onely,

but for euer; and not in this place onely, but
 “whithersoever thou goest”¹¹.”

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Again: ‘What manner of persons then ought we to be in all holinesse and vprightness of life? He that runs on in his sinnes (iust like a Moath about the Candle in the night) playes with hell fire, till at last it consumes him. He that makes a profession of holinesse, and seemes to endeour to be as he appeares, yet harbouring still some bosome-sinne, imitates a Fly shut vp in a Chamber at noon-day, which beholding the day-light through the glasse, beates itselfe to death against that which discouers the light: But he whose heart is vpright, and conuersation iust, flies vp in his Meditations to the highest Heauens, to prepare a place for what is yet imprisoned vpon earth. Whensoeuer hee stayes at home, hee findes God there, and for the time makes it a Bethel: when he goes abroad (with Iacob) he findes God there too, and sets vp a Piller of Praiers, to make it the Gate of Heaven. When he sleepes, he is clambering vpon Iacob’s Ladder vp to Heauen: And when he wakes, he finds God with him then too, ready to accept of his Sacrifice, and protect him vnder the shadow of his wings. The whole Vniuerse can as well teach vs the Omnipresence, as the Omnipotencie of God, and confound the assertions of heathenish Infidelity. Ioshua durst neither question the Power of God, whether hee could be with him, nor his Truth, whether hee would be with him whithersoever he went.

¹¹ Featly’s Sermon, 16, 17.

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‘Thus must we then with Ioshua resolute to obey, that we may secure our happinesse. God will be with us, if he promise it; God will promise it, if we desire it; but, without that, no Promise, nor fauourable Presence. God will be with us in Peace, to preserue us in Unity; in the Warres, to giue us the Victorie; in our Natiue Soile, to blesse us with Plentie; and in forraigne parts, to enrich vs with Prosperity; prouided alwaies that (with Ioshua) wee receiue our command from the God of Heaven. But if being commanded, we runne into disobedience, our Peace shall be corrupted with perpetuall Alarums; our Warres shall deuoure vs; our owne Country shall lye waste; and when we seeke abroad, we shall perish where none shall have compassion on us.

‘Let us then more especially, which must looke vndaunted upon Death itselfe, by the protection of our Maker, and see his workes of wonder in the Deepes; that must flye from hence vpon the wings of the Wind to the wast places of the earth, to plant the knowledge of his goodness who commands vs to goe; Let us (I say) more especially assure ourselues that we are dispatched with Ioshua’s Commission, that the Sea may be but a Iordan unto us, and the Land we goe to inhabit, a Canaan. Our examples must as much teach the Salvages what we obey, as our Precepts whom we obey. Our Religion must be as well clad in Sinceritie, as our Strength in Courage; that so those ignorant Infidels, obseruing our religious Conuersation, may ioyne with vs in a happy Resolution. Our equall steps and upright

behavior thus inflaming the hearts of the ignorant, it may peradventure proue in a short space, a greater taske to dissuade them from beleauing us to be Gods, than to perswade them to beleue that there is a God. Thus may those, which are yet without, be comforted, and may perceiue that God is with us whithersoouer we goe¹².

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I will extract only one more passage,—that which concludes the Sermon: ‘You that liue at home under your owne Vines, and eate the fruites of your owne Trees; that feele not the terror of want, nor the heate of miseries, to you it belongs to be valiant in suffering (if occasion shall happen) any persecution or crosse which God may iustly inflict upon you, either as a Punishment or Tryal. Besides ye must be valiant in the conflict against the World, the Flesh, and the Deuil, lest if they ouercome, destruction sodainely come upon you, as sorrow upon a woman in travell.

‘And againe, for us that go abroad, it belongs in a speciall manner not to be afraid, neither bee dismayd. If the surging waves of a swelling sea smoke out threats and anger, yet he that walked upon the water and breathed a calme, can doe the like for vs too; but we must not be afraid, neither be dismayd. When the tempestuous Winds buzze in our ears, and seeme to speake the language of death, he that once charm’d them with “Peace, be still;” can doe the like for vs too; but we must not feare them, neither be dismayd. If the blustering noise of Guns

¹² Ibid. 20—22.

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shall roare in our eares, to threaten our mangling subuersion, yet hee that taught our Enemies to war, and their fingers to fight, can as well vnteach them againe, and strike them with astonishment for our sakes: but he still requires that we should not be afraid, neither be dismaid. Lastly, if the Companie of Indian Archers ranke themselves against vs, yea and promise to themselves our vtter confusion; yet must we know that the Lord, which is a Man of War, (as he hath stiled himselfe,) which breaketh the Bow in pieces, and knappeth the Arrowes in sunder, can preuent their furie; but his Charge will remaine the same; the same Condition, that wee bee not afraid, neither bee dismaid.

‘ Let me adde then S. Austin’s words of Consolation: “Deus tibi totum est,” &c. God will be all in all vnto thee: if thou art hungry, he will be bread vnto thee; if thirsty, water; if thou sittest in darknesse, he will shine vpon thee; and if thou art naked, he will cloathe thee with Immortalitie. O let us then, who intend (by the diuine Prouidence) to “sing the Lord’s song in a strange land,” here make our promise vnto the Almighty, that he shall be the Lord our God, and him alone will we serue. And then the Lord will speake unto us, as he did to Joshua, in the words of our text, “Have not I commanded thee,” &c.

‘ But, before we depart, it remaines that the Testimonie of our Faith, Repentance, Loue, Zeale, and all other diuine Graces be sealed here in the face of the Congregation. See how for our

Farewell, Christ hath inuited vs all vnto a Feast. O let us draw neere, and receiue our Sweet Jesus into the bosomes of our Soules, that he may receiue us into the Armes of his Mercie. Our louing Sauour did eate of the Bread of Affliction, that we might eate of the Bread of Life. Our Jesus dranke of the Waters of Marah, that we might drinke of the sweet springs of Liuing Water. Come, let vs feast then both with him, and on him, who fasted for vs; let vs embrace him with reuerence; hold him by faith; keepe him with charity; and preserue him in our soules, with repentance for our wrongs past, and Praiers and striuing against it for time to come; that his victorious Death may be to us a triumphant Life. Thus, when we haue all eaten and dranke together the assurance of our Adoption and Saluation, let vs depart in Peace, with ioy in the Holy Ghost.

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‘But first, to those that remaine in this flourishing Kingdome, We will cry, “Peace be within your walls, and Plenteousnesse within your Palaces; For our Brethren and Companions’ sakes, we will wish you Prosperity.” For us, that must arise and seeke out a farther habitation, we will beg of the Almighty with an unanimous consent, that he will be graciously pleased to speake unto us in the words of my Text: “Have not I commanded you? Only be strong, and of a good courage: Be not afraid, neither be dismayed, for I will be with you whithersoever you goe¹³.”’

¹³ Ibid. 31—34.

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Hindrances
in the way of
his appeal.

The solemn gathering of the people to whom Featly addressed these words in God's House of Prayer, the supplications and thanksgivings which they then poured forth, the Scriptures which they then heard, the Holy Communion of which they then partook, are all witnesses to prove, that, among those who joined in the first adventures of our countrymen to the West Indies, were men deeply sensible of the obligations which rested upon them as baptized members of the Church of Christ in their native England. But it was ordained that their hands should not, at that time, be fully strengthened to carry forward the work upon which they had thus entered. Instead of seeing more of their fellow-citizens come out to support them in the same spirit, the numbers of such men, even in their own ranks, became less, and others who succeeded them, neither shared their sympathies, nor echoed their prayers. Nor is it difficult to trace the secondary causes which led to this result. For instance, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, the assignment of the proprietorship of the various Plantations to two different noblemen, Carlisle and Marlborough, had engendered quarrels, which were kept up by their respective partizans abroad long after the question in dispute had been settled at home. Smith, who had experienced in his own disasters, and in those which befell Virginia, the pernicious consequences of divided councils at home, describes, as might be expected, in strong terms, the renewal of the same mischievous course in our West Indian

Colonies. It arose, he says, from 'home-bred adventurers,' who wished to have all things as they would CHAP.
XV. conceit and have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are.—It is a wonder to me (he continues) to see such mischiefs and miracles in men; how greedily they pursue to dispossess the planters of the name of Christ Jesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murdering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages, and countries, and subverting so many kingdoms; when so much lieth wast, or only possessed by a few poor savages, that more serve the devil for fear than God for love; whose ignorance we pretend to reform, but covetousness, humours, ambition, faction, and pride hath so many instruments, we perform very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion or hinderance of any honest intended Christian plantation ¹⁴.

In addition to the above difficulties, it must be borne in mind, that as the unhappy reign of Charles went on, the progress of discontent, division, and ruin which kept pace with it, so paralyzed every energy which might have been put forth by the Church, in behalf of her members scattered throughout these infant settlements in the West Indies, that no help whatsoever could be extended to them.

¹⁴ Smith's Travels, &c. in Churchill's Voyages, ii. 404.

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They were left as destitute as were their brethren in other lands. It was simply the renewal, in those regions, of the self-same process, which, in every other part of the English empire, was then permitted to prevail.

Especially
in Barbados.

These evil influences were found to operate throughout all our possessions in the West Indies, at this period, and in none more conspicuously than in the most important of them all, Barbados. Smith, indeed, says of its inhabitants, that there had 'been so many factions among them,' that he could 'not from so many variable relations give any certainty for their orderly government'¹⁵. In fact, the discord and profligacy which prevailed among some of its earliest settlers, in 1625,—when Deane was entrusted with its government,—was so great, that the first chaplain, appointed to officiate among them, Nicholas Leverton, of Exeter College, Oxford, absolutely left his post in despair; and transferred his services to a party who attempted, but without success, to make a settlement in Tobago¹⁶. And, afterwards, in 1629, when Charles Woolferstone was sent out by Lord Carlisle, with sixty-four persons under his command, and a grant of ten thousand acres, it is said that incessant quarrels took place between him and the parties who had already gained a footing in the Island, under the authority of the rival proprietor. Upon one occasion, in particular, I find that the disputants

¹⁵ Ibid. 409.

¹⁶ Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, i. 290.

were about to give open battle to each other, when Mr. Kentlane, 'a pious clergyman,' as he is described, rushed in between them, and prevented the effusion of blood, by persuading them to submit their difference to the authorities at home¹⁷.

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But there were other evil influences at work in this Island besides those already mentioned. 'The calamities of England,' it has been said, with not less force than truth, 'served to people Barbados¹⁸.' And what a world of misery is revealed in this brief sentence! the mother-country and the infant colony placed, side by side, together; the parent shaken to the very centre by fearful discord, and her best life-blood, streaming from many a wound; whilst, around her fresh offspring, are gathered all the same elements which brought confusion and misery to herself. We can but glance, and that very hastily, at the consequences of this state of things; but it will be enough to tell us how sore were the trials of the Island. The fertility of its soil had, in the first instance, attracted emigrants of various ranks; and these, as the King's cause grew weaker, were, for the most part, his adherents, who saw no hope left to them in their native country. Such men had possessed, at first, to a great extent, the liberty of marking out for themselves

¹⁷ Poyer's History of Barbados, 22. The authority which Poyer has followed in making this and other statements, relating to the same period, is that of a small anonymous volume, published in London in 1743, entitled 'Memoirs of the first Settlement in Barbados, &c., extracted from

ancient records, papers, and accounts taken from Mr. William Arnold, Mr. Samuel Bulkly, and Mr. John Sumners, some of the first settlers, the last of whom was alive in 1688, aged 82.'

¹⁸ Short History of Barbados, p. 8.

their several places of refuge ; but this was gradually taken from them, as Cromwell's power increased. And, when at length he became absolute, we find him selecting Barbados as the place of banishment for the enemies whom his sword spared. Thus, in his Report to Parliament, September 17, 1649, which describes the massacre executed by his commands at Drogheda, Cromwell writes, 'When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head ; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes ¹⁹.'

This Island also was fixed upon as a safe place of confinement for many of those who were made prisoners at the battle of Worcester ; and, again, for others, who fell into the hands of Cromwell's officers, when the insurrection at Salisbury was quelled. The sufferings, which the last-named exiles were made to endure, were most barbarous ; and I call the reader's attention to them, for one moment,

¹⁹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 61. I had thought that no man, save hero worshippers, in their extravagance, could have spoken of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland in any other terms than those of condemnation ; but Merle D'Aubigné, in his recent 'Vindication' of the Protector, although he is forced to express regret that 'a Christian man should have been called to wage so terrible a war,' and admits that Cromwell showed towards his enemies 'a greater severity than had ever perhaps been

exercised by the Pagan leaders of Antiquity,' has, nevertheless, the hardihood to assert, that 'Cromwell acted in Ireland like a great statesman, and that the means he employed were those best calculated promptly to restore order in that unhappy country.' And then, as if to put the climax to his eulogy, he applies to Cromwell the beatitude pronounced by our Saviour on the Mount : "Blessed are the peace-makers ; for they shall be called the children of God." p. 146.

because they illustrate most powerfully the evils which Barbados experienced by being made the scene of such oppression. CHAP.
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The account of them is given in a pamphlet, entitled 'England's Slavery, or Barbados Merchandize,' and published in 1659. It contains a Petition to Parliament from Marcellinus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, on behalf of themselves and seventy more 'free-born Englishmen,' who had all been sold uncondemned into slavery. The Petition sets forth that they had been made prisoners at Exeter and Ilchester, on pretence of the Salisbury rising; and, although the indictments against some of them had never been preferred, and in the case of others ignored, and the rest who had undergone trial had been acquitted, they had, nevertheless, been kept in prison for a whole year; at the end of which time, they had suddenly been snatched out of their prisons, and driven through the streets of Exeter, by command of the then high sheriff, Copleston, under a guard of horse and foot;—none being suffered to take leave of them;—and so hurried to Plymouth, and put on boardship, when, after they had lain fourteen days, the captain set sail, and, at the end of five weeks, landed them at Barbados. The prisoners had been kept all the way locked up in the hold, among horses, 'so that their souls through heat and steam fainted in them.' They had afterwards been sold, the generality of them, to most inhuman persons, 'for 1550 lbs. weight of sugar a piece, (more or less, according to their working faculties,) as the goods

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and chattels of their masters. Aged persons,' (the Petition goes on to say,) 'of three score and sixteen years, had not been spared; nor divines, nor officers, nor gentlemen, nor any age or condition of men.' All had been enslaved alike; and were now generally 'grinding at the mills, attending the furnaces, or digging in this scorching island; having nothing to feed on, notwithstanding their hard labour, but potato roots; nor to drink, but water, with such roots masht in it (besides the bread and tears of their own afflictions)—bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as beasts for the debts of their masters;—being whipt at their whipping posts as rogues, for their master's pleasure, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England, and many other ways made miserable, beyond expression or Christian imagination.'

To this Petition are appended four letters, written by the sufferers to different members of Parliament, and drawing a picture of distress to which it will be difficult to find a parallel.

Nothing could be more injurious than the effect which such a state of things must have produced upon the minds of the settlers in Barbados. It was sad enough for them to learn to treat with levity the sufferings of the negro slave;—of this I will speak hereafter;—but what was the evil to which they were thereby exposed, compared to that which must have been created by the spectacle of such brutal tyranny inflicted upon their own countrymen?

There was yet another trial which came at that time.

upon the Barbadians—arising, indeed, from a totally opposite quarter, but—hardly less destructive, I think, of those principles upon which alone real prosperity can be established. For, towards the end of Charles's reign, and during the Commonwealth,—after the emigrants, who fled for refuge to the West Indies, had recovered from their first panic, and become occupied in the work of their several plantations,—the rapid growth of outward prosperity which distinguished most of them,—especially those in the Island of Barbados,—became a snare to the very men who rejoiced in it, and a hindrance in the way of accomplishing those beneficent purposes which many, who shared the spirit of Featly, would doubtless have laboured to promote. The sudden transition from a state of defeat and terror to that of confidence and luxury, tempted them to forget the wholesome lessons which chastisement had taught. The source, too, from which wealth flowed into their bosoms, supplied ever fresh materials to strengthen their selfishness: for it was the toil of the poor negro, which made their lands so costly, and their gains so vast. And the gay and careless Cavalier, looking only to the pleasure of the passing hour, and not to the hateful price at which it was purchased, became more callous, as he became more prosperous.

Many authorities concur in showing that Barbados was distinguished by such prosperity, at that early period. Clarendon, for instance, a contemporary, states that it 'was much the richest plantation,' and 'principally inhabited by men who had retired hither

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only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king: many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions: that they had also 'gotten good estates there;' and that it was 'incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves, in few years, in that plantation ²⁰.' The author also of the Account of the European Settlements in America,—now generally acknowledged to have been Edmund Burke,—gives a similar description ²¹; and Anderson, in his History of Commerce, adds, upon the authority of Ligon, one of the earliest historians of the Island, many more particulars illustrative of the same fact; saying, that an estate of five hundred acres, which, before the making of sugar was introduced, might have been purchased for four hundred pounds, was worth, in a very few years afterwards, more than fourteen thousand; that Colonel James Drax, who had gone out, as an emigrant planter, with a sum of three hundred pounds, hoped speedily to accomplish his purpose of purchasing a landed estate in England worth ten thousand pounds a year; and that another, Colonel Thomas Modyford, had frequently expressed to the writer, his resolution not to set his face towards England until he should have amassed the sum of a hundred thousand pounds sterling ²². These facts account also for the

²⁰ Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vi. 610.

²¹ ii. 87.

²² Anderson, ut sup. ii. 417.

large number of emigrants who resorted, within a short space of time, to Barbados; so that, in 1650, twenty thousand white men are computed to have been in the Island, of whom half were able to bear arms²³. Another writer, a few years afterwards, declares the population to be fifty thousand; and adds the melancholy fact, that this was exclusive of negro slaves, who were a far greater number²⁴.

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Having thus adverted to the difficulties which beset Barbados, in this early period of her history, let us see what efforts were made by the Church, at the same time, to remedy them. That one of her Clergy was appointed to labour among the first planters, is evident from the fact already noticed, that he was scared and driven away by the terrors of his position. It has been seen also, that another quickly succeeded him, who, by his piety, and prudence, and courage, could make his voice listened to and obeyed, amid the tumultuous uproar of his countrymen. In the time of Sir William Tufton, who received the commission of commander-in-chief of the Island under Lord Carlisle, in 1629, I find that six Parishes were constituted, the names of which were Christ Church, St. Michael, St. James, St. Thomas, St. Peter, and St. Lucy²⁵. In 1634, further instructions were issued to Governor Hawley, con-

The first
planting of
the Church
in that
Island.

418. Drax and Modyford were among the thirteen Planters, upon whom, after the Restoration, Charles the Second conferred the title of Baronet. Edwards, i. 331, note.

²³ Edwards, i. 330.

²⁴ Blome's Account of the British Possessions in the West Indies and America. London, 1687.

²⁵ Poyer's History of Barbados, 25.

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cerning the granting of lands, in which, among other matters, it is directed, that, wheresoever such grants were made, the payment of an annual tribute should be reserved to Lord Carlisle, and also that the dues of the Governor and Clergy respectively should be secured²⁶: a plain proof that the ministrations of the Clergy were, at that time, going on in the Island.

Governor
Bell.

From 1641-2 to 1650, Philip Bell was lieutenant-governor, to whom the highest character for zeal, and wisdom, and integrity has been assigned. He divided the Island into eleven Parishes, adding five to the six already mentioned, and providing that, in each, a Church should be built, and a Minister appointed to officiate. The five new Parishes were those of St. George, St. Philip, St. John, St. Andrew, and St. Joseph²⁷.

Acts re-
lating to
Public
Worship.

The following Acts, relating to public worship, are said to have been passed during his administration; and, as the earliest specimen of legislation upon such matters in our West Indian Colonies, I give them at length:

Whereas divers opiniated and self-conceited persons have declared an absolute dislike to the Government of the Church of

²⁶ Ibid. 31.

²⁷ Ibid. 35. It is stated in the Memoirs of the first settlement of Barbados, p. 21, that Bell came to Barbados from Providence, one of the Bahamas, of which Island he had been governor. This confirms the conjecture which I have

made in a note at p. 175, that he had been the governor of the Bermudas. His residence at Providence would fill up the time between his departure from the Bermudas in 1629, and his arrival at Barbados in 1641.

England, as well by their aversion and utter neglect or refusal of the Prayers, Sermons, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ordinances thereof, used in their several Parish-churches, as by holding Conventicles in private houses and other places; scandalizing Ministers, and endeavouring to seduce others to their erroneous opinions, upon a pretence of an alteration of Church-government in England. All which their misdemeanors have begotten many distractions; a great reproach and disparagement to the Church and to Ministry; and disturbance of the Government of this Island: for suppression of which their disorderly courses, It is hereby ordered, published, and declared, and all persons whatsoever inhabiting or resident, or which shall inhabit or reside in this Island, are, in his Majesty's name, hereby strictly charged and commanded, that they, and every of them, from henceforth give due obedience, and conform themselves unto the Government and Discipline of the Church of England, as the same hath been established by several Acts of Parliament, and especially those which are at large expressed in the fronts of most English Bibles: Which Acts of Parliament the Ministers of every Church and Chapel in this Island, are hereby required to read publickly and distinctly in their several Parish Churches and Chapels, that thereby all Persons may know what is their duty in this behalf, and the Penalty they incur by their contempt and neglect thereof, which all that appear faulty in, must expect to have strictly put in execution against them.

And all Justices of the Peace, Ministers, Church-wardens, and other His Majesty's officers of this Island, that may give furtherance to the execution of the aforesaid Acts, are hereby required in His Majesty's name, to do their endeavour therein to the utmost of their powers, as they tender their several Duties to Almighty God, and their Allegiances to our Sovereign Lord the King; and the due execution of several Places and Offices whereto they are called.

Another is to this effect:

That Almighty God may be served and glorified, and that He give a blessing to our labours; It is hereby enacted, that all

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Masters and Overseers of Families have Prayers openly said or read every Morning and Evening with his Family, upon penalty of forty pounds of Sugar ; the one half to the Informer, the other half to the public Treasury of this Island.

That all Masters of Families who live within two miles of their Parish Church or Chapel, shall duly repair thereto, Morning and Evening, on the Sabbath, with their Families, to hear Divine Service ; and they which live above two miles from such Church or Chapel, to repair to such Church once a month at least, under forfeiture, according to the Law of England in such case provided. If a Servant make default of repairing to the Church, according to the true intent of this Act, if the default be in his Master, then his Master is to pay ten pounds of Cotton for every such default ; if the neglect be in the Servant, he is to be punished at the discretion of the next Justice of the Peace.

That every Minister begin Prayers every Sunday, by nine of the clock in the Morning, and Preach once that day at the least.

And forasmuch as little care hath been observed to be taken by Parents, or Masters of Families, for the instruction of their Children, or Servants under years of Discretion, in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, or the knowledge of God ; and as little endeavours used therein by any of the Ministers of this Island, so that Religion comes thereby to be scandalized, and the worship of God contemned, and all manner of Vices, through the ignorance of persons attaining maturity of years, encouraged and countenanced ; and for the better information therefore of all sorts of persons concerning God and the true Religion, It is ordained and enacted by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and by the Authority of the same, That the respective Ministers of this Island in their several Parish Churches or Chapels of Ease, on every Sunday in the afternoon, do there publicly exercise the duty of Preaching, or of the Catechizing and questioning all the Youth, and others that shall come before them, in the points of the Christian Faith, and endeavour by such questions to instruct them concerning God, and the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, and all the Articles of the Christian Faith.

Item. That the Church-wardens of every Parish, shall forthwith provide a strong pair of Stocks to be placed so near the Church or Chapel as conveniently may be, and the Constables, Church-wardens, and Sidesmen, shall in some time of Divine Service every Sunday, walk and search Taverns, Ale-houses, Victualling-houses, or other Houses, where they do suspect lewd and debauched Company to frequent. And if they shall find any Drinking, Swearing, Gaming, or otherwise misdemeaning themselves, that forthwith they apprehend such persons and bring them to the Stocks, there to be by them imprisoned for the space of four hours, unless every such Offender pay five shillings to the Church-wardens of the said Parish for the use of the Poor.

Item. Whosoever shall Swear or Curse, whereby the Name of God is blasphemed, if a Master or Freeman, he shall forfeit for every such offence, four pounds of Sugar: if a Servant, two pounds of Sugar; and if the Servant hath not wherewithal, then to be put in the Stocks.

Provided this Statute take not away any Master's power in correcting their Servants for the Offence aforesaid; the said Fines concerning the said Masters and Freemen to be immediately paid and levied, for the use of the Parish, out of his Estate.

And it is further ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every the Church-wardens of the several and respective Parishes within this Island, be sworn upon the holy Evangelists of God, upon his election to the said Office, for the discharge thereof, by the Justices of the Peace for the respective Parishes, in manner and form according to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom of England. And that the said Church-wardens, and every of them, do duly make their presentments at the next Quarter-Sessions, by virtue of his Oath, to the end that all persons presented may appear and answer to all such Crimes as shall be objected against them²⁵.

²⁵ The year in which the above Acts were passed is not dated in the Secretary's Office; but a note appended to them in Hall's Laws of Barbados, pp. 4—6, assigns the time of their enactment to some period in Governor Bell's administration.

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The following clause, concerning the power of Churchwardens, occurs in another Act, passed during the same administration :

Forasmuch as it is taken into serious consideration, That the levies made by the Vestries of this Island for Church-dues, cannot be fully exacted and satisfied, unless the Church-wardens may have power to attach the Lands where other satisfaction cannot be found, and sell the same : It is therefore hereby enacted, published, and declared, That it shall and may be lawful to, and for all and every person, or persons, that are or shall be Church-wardens of any of the Parishes of this Island, and they shall from henceforth have power granted in their attachment, for attaching and appraising any of the Lands and Housing of any the person or persons that do, or shall stand indebted upon any of their Parish-levies. And in case the said persons shall not satisfy the said levies and arrears, in some merchantable commodities, then the said Church-wardens shall and may make sale of any such Lands and Housing ²⁹, &c.

In 1656, another Act was passed, in consequence of the heavy burdens caused by parochial assessments; and certain regulations were made therein for the annual election of sixteen vestrymen by the free voices of all the freeholders of every Parish, on the second Monday in January; and power was given to them to manage the business of the said Parish, and to set rates for defraying all necessary charges ³⁰.

Reflections
thereon.

In reading these earliest enactments upon Church matters in Barbados, the same reflections will probably recur to our minds, which were suggested by the Acts passed, with reference to the same subjects, by

²⁹ It is signed Philip Bell, and dated March 13, 1648. Ib. 14.

³⁰ Ib. 24.

the Grand Assembly of Virginia. In both cases, we perceive the same strong desire to spread throughout an infant Colony the ministrations and ordinances of the Church ; and, in both, this desire is disappointed, and the benefits intended by its expression well nigh destroyed, by the terms of imperious authority with which the attendance upon such ordinances was demanded ; and by the apparatus of fines and imprisonment which was invented to enforce the demand. In both cases, reference is made to the divisions which weakened the Church from within, and to the adversaries which assailed her from without ; and, in both, the folly is exhibited of attempting to remedy such evils by the enactment of pains and penalties. In both cases, an attempt is made to guard against the mischief arising from the neglect of his duties by the minister ; and, in both, the wretched mistake is committed of supposing that such mischief could be efficiently prevented or restrained by vestries, or councils, or other secular rulers, apart from the direct control of the only lawful ecclesiastical superior.

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To ascertain the actual condition of the inhabitants of Barbados during the period in which the above Acts were passed, Ligon's History will be found to be of great service. He was, as I have before said, one of the earliest historians of Barbados ; having gone out with Colonel Modyford, or Muddiford, in 1647²¹.

Ligon's
History.

²¹ The first edition of his work was published in 1657 ; and a second a few years later.

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He is spoken of by a contemporary writer²², as 'the ingenious Mr. Ligon,—whose flourishes in rhetoric, though in some things poetical, yet in the main do keep such a chain of truth, that the romantick part rather guilds than dislincks the history.' He dedicates his work to Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; and a letter from that prelate is prefixed, in which he highly eulogizes it, saying, that 'all the descriptions were so drawn to the life that he knew no painting beyond it.' This eulogy is not too strong, if regard be had only to the brilliancy and vigour of Ligon's narrative; but there is a levity and laxness of moral tone in some of his descriptions, especially those which relate to the scenes witnessed by him in the Island of St. Jago, at which he touched in his voyage outward, to which I cannot suppose that Bishop Duppa meant his remarks to extend. A circumstance also is related in one of these passages, which shows that a large proportion of the ship's company, both men and women, were of the vilest and most abandoned character; and it is spoken of as a matter of course, without any apparent consciousness on the part of the writer, that such an arrangement either reflected discredit upon the parties who fitted out the emigrant vessel, or would be a sure and fertile source of evil to the new Colony²³.

²² The author of a pamphlet, entitled 'Great Newes from Barbadoes,' giving an account of a conspiracy which had taken place there, and published in London, in 1676.

²³ Ligon, 13. The Author of 'Antigua and the Antiguan's' states,

Of some of the early planters in Barbados, Ligon gives a very high character; praising them for their humanity, intelligence, and industry; and saying that they strove so carefully to put aside all recollection of the unhappy differences which had distracted them at home, that, 'though they were of several persuasions, yet their discretions ordered every thing so well, as there were never any fallings out between them.' To this end, some of the better sort made a law among themselves, that whosoever named the words Roundhead or Cavalier, should give to all that heard him a dinner, to be eaten at his house that made the forfeiture. By this and other conventional usages, they kept up a frank and affectionate relation with each other, and spread a feeling of harmony and confidence among all over whom they had any influence³⁴.

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His character of the Planters.

But men of such a stamp rarely form the majority in any community; and Ligon's narrative, as might be expected, is taken up for the most part with accounts of a widely different character. His description, for instance, of the manner in which the servants and slaves of planters were treated by them, presents as humiliating a state of things as can well be imagined. The period, indeed, for which servants were bound to their masters was limited to five years; but, during that term, the masters

Disgraceful treatment of servants.

that Modyford's first design had been to colonize Antigua; but that he preferred settling in the latter Island, i. 16.
 having put into Barbados, on account of sickness among his men,
³⁴ Ibid. 58.

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appear to have been left at full liberty to exercise any caprice or cruelty towards their servants. One instance of this shall be given in Ligon's own words. It occurs in a passage in which he is relating the manner in which the planters were accustomed to rear their hogs, and the price for which they sold them, namely, at fourpence, or sixpence, a pound: and he thus writes: 'There was a Planter in the Iland that came to his neighbour, and said to him, Neighbour, I hear you have lately bought good store of servants, out of the last ship that came from England; and I hear withall that you want provisions; I have great want of a woman servant, and would be glad to make an exchange. If you will let me have some of your woman's flesh, you shall have some of my hogg's flesh: So the price was set, a groat a pound for the hogg's flesh, and sixpence for the woman's flesh. The scales were set up, and the Planter had a Maid that was extream fat, lasie, and good for nothing. Her name was Honor. The man brought a great fat sow, and put it in one scale, and Honor was put in the other. But when he saw how much the Maid outwayed his sow, he broke off the bargaine, and would not go on. Though such a case (adds Ligon) may seldome happen, yet 'tis an ordinary thing here, to sell their servants to one another for the time they have to serve; and in exchange receive any commodities that are in the Iland ⁵¹.'

⁵¹ Ibid. 59.

But, whatsoever may have been the sufferings to which the servants of tyrannical masters were made subject, they ended at the expiration of five years. The slave, on the other hand, was doomed to drudgery and toil, which ended not until he was laid in his grave. There only, did he cease to "hear the voice of the oppressor;" there only, at the last, was he "free from his master"³⁶. Let Ligon again be our guide in this matter: 'When the slaves are brought to us,' are his words, 'the Planters bring them out of the ship, where they find them stark naked, and therefore cannot be deceived in any outward infirmity. They choose them as they do horses in a market; the strongest, youthfullest, and most beautifull yield the greatest prices. Thirty pounds sterling is a price for the best man negro; and twenty-five, twenty-six, or twenty-seven pounds for a woman; the children are at easier rates.' And, of the utter contempt with which the slaves were treated by those who thus bought them, Ligon gives the following most touching proof. A negro had once been ordered to attend upon him in the woods, through which he was causing pathways to be cut to a Church, about to be erected there; and expressed great astonishment and admiration at a mariner's compass, which Ligon carried about with him for his guidance through the forest. The slave asked him many questions about the movement and standing still of the needle, which Ligon answered as he best

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And of
slaves.

³⁶ Job iii. 18, 19.

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could; upon which, after musing a long time in silence, he asked to be made a Christian, thinking, as Ligon writes, that 'to be made a Christian, was to be endued with all the knowledges he wanted. I promised,' he adds, 'to do my best endeavour; and, when I came home, spoke to the Master of the Plantation, and told him that poor Sambo desired much to be made a Christian. But his answer was, That the people of that Iland were governed by the Laues of England, and by those Laues, we could not make a Christian a slave. I told him that my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a slave a Christian. His answer was, That it was true, there was a great difference in that: But, being once a Christian, he could no more account him a slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the Planters in the Iland would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor Sambo kept quite out of Church; as ingenious, as honest, and as good a natur'd poor soul, as ever wore black, or eat green ³⁷.'

This narrative would be imperfect, were I to omit another specimen which the same writer gives of the negro character. It happened, that, during a time of scarcity, some turbulent and discontented slaves formed a conspiracy to burn down the boiling house of the plantation to which they belonged.

³⁷ Ligon, 46—50.

The design was frustrated by information given of it by some other slaves belonging to the same plantation; whereupon the conspirators were punished, and the indulgence of a day's liberty, and of a double portion of food for three days, was offered to the men through whom the plot had been discovered, and to their families. But they all refused to profit by the indulgence; upon which, the planter, being perplexed and alarmed, sent for three or four of the best among them, and asked the reason of their conduct. They replied, says Ligon, 'that it was not sullenness, or slighting the gratuitie their Master bestow'd on them, but they would not accept any thing as a recompence for doing that which became them in their duties to doe; nor would they have him think it was hope of reward that made them to accuse their fellow-servants, but an act of justice, which they thought themselves bound in duty to doe, and they thought themselves sufficiently rewarded in the act. The substance of this, in such language as they had, they delivered, and poor Sambo was the orator; by whose example the others were led both in the discovery of the plot, and refusal of the gratuitie. And withall they said, that, if it pleased their Master, at any time, to bestow a voluntary boone upon them, be it never so sleight, they would willingly and thankfully accept it; and this act might have beseem'd the best Christians, though some of them were denied Christianity when they earnestly sought it. Let others,' adds Ligon, 'have what opinion they please, yet I am of this believe, that there are

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to be found among them some who are as morally honest, as conscionable, as humble, as loving to their friends, and as loyal to their masters as any that live under the sunne³⁸.'

The review here taken of the history of Barbados, from the earliest period at which it became a possession of the British empire, will show, that, whilst many causes were operating in that Island, which hindered the extension of true religious influences among its people, it was not left without witnesses to declare the necessity, and the blessedness, of such help. The historian, whose words we have been just quoting, would alone have proved the fact, even if the other testimonies, which have been cited above, had not existed. For he has described how his sympathies were excited in behalf of the negro slave who was his companion in the forest, into the recesses of which they had both entered, in order that they might find a fit spot upon which to erect a Church, and cut a pathway for worshippers to repair to it. In a later part of his work, also, he confirms the statements which I have gathered from the memoirs of its first settlers and the legislative proceedings during Bell's government; for he says, that the Parishes in the Island were, at the time of his being there,—from 1647 to the second or third year of the Commonwealth,—eleven in number; and, that, although no tithes were paid to the minister, yet a yearly allowance was made of a pound of tobacco upon each acre of every man's land, besides cer-

³⁸ Ibid. 54.

tain Church duties for marriages, christenings, and burials³⁹. Blome, also, to whose account of the British possessions in America and the West Indies, published a few years later, reference has been before made, states that the number of Churches and Chapels, at that time, was fourteen.

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Barbados was the first of the Trans-Atlantic possessions of England, to which Cromwell deemed it necessary to send an armament, for the purpose of compelling that subjection to his power which its inhabitants, of themselves, were unwilling to yield. He had already made it, as we have seen, during the first year of the Commonwealth, a receptacle for the miserable Irish Roman Catholics and English royalists who were saved from slaughter; and now sought to bring it more directly under his control, by sending Admiral Sir George Ayscue against it, in 1651, with a strong fleet, and summoning it to surrender. Lord Willoughby, of Parham, the Governor, refused to obey the summons. He had formerly served with distinction on the Parliamentary side, and been made general of the horse under the Earl

Barbados yields to the Commonwealth, 1651.

³⁹ Ibid. 101. Ligon relates, in the same passage, that the Laws in Barbados, for all criminal, civil, ecclesiastical, and maritime affairs, were the same as in England, and administered by a Governor and ten Members of Council. There was also a House of Assembly, a Supreme Court for the last Appeals; for making new laws, or abolishing old. It consisted of the Governor, as chief of all; his

Council, in nature of the Peers; and two Burgesses, chosen by every Parish for the rest.

Sir Robert Schomburgk's History of Barbados, just published, came under my notice, as I was passing these sheets through the press; and I gladly refer the reader to that valuable work for a full account of all particulars relating to the Island.

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of Essex; but, being disgusted with the refusal of Parliament to make a treaty with the King, had withdrawn from their service; was afterwards impeached; and, escaping to Holland, and thence to Barbados, openly espoused the cause of Charles the Second, from whom he had received a commission, whilst in Holland, to act as Governor of the Island⁴⁰. Ayscue, finding his first summons set at defiance, tried to awaken the Governor's alarm, by sending to him an intercepted letter from his wife, Lady Willoughby, in which she gave an account of the defeat at Worcester. But this attempt failed. Willoughby still refused to surrender; and, had all his people been as resolute as himself, the resistance which he made to the first attack might have been successfully maintained. But their fears compelled him at length to submit; not, however, without obtaining honourable terms of capitulation for himself and his followers. The subjugation of Barbados to the Commonwealth involved that of all the other English possessions in the West Indies; and the report of this success greatly facilitated, as we have seen, the reduction of Virginia under the same authority, by means of a squadron detached for that purpose from Ayscue's fleet⁴¹.

Jamaica
taken, 1655.

But the energy of Cromwell's counsels was not confined to such operations. He soon afterwards

⁴⁰ Edwards states that Lord Willoughby had also obtained from Lord Carlisle a lease of his rights for twenty-one years; but kept it secret from the resident planters, lest they might have objected to the transfer. i. 331.

⁴¹ Clarendon, vi. 610; Whitelocke's Memorials, 498—506; Biog. Britt. (Art. Ayscue.)

wrested the large and valuable Island of Jamaica from the hands of the Spaniards, and made it the centre of British dominion in the West Indies. A century and a half had elapsed since that Island had been discovered by Christopher Columbus. Its government had descended as an inheritance to his son Diego, by a decree of the Council of the Indies at Seville, in spite of the efforts of King Ferdinand to set it aside. Through the marriage of Diego's daughter,—in whom all the rights of the inheritance eventually centered,—with a member of the house of Braganza, it had been transferred for a time to Portugal; but, in 1640, reverted by forfeiture to the Crown of Spain. Twice, during that period, English invaders had landed upon its shores, and plundered its chief town; the first being Sir Anthony Shirley, who made a descent upon it in 1596; and the second, Colonel Jackson, in 1638. But these were mere predatory assaults, which the Spaniards more than repaid by the frequency and cruelty with which they attacked the English in almost every Island in which they had formed a settlement⁴². The Spaniards lorded it, in fact, over every portion of land and sea in that quarter of the globe, as if the decree of Pope Alexander the Sixth,—which, at the close of the fifteenth century, had awarded the whole Western hemisphere to the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon⁴³,—were a lawful, and

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⁴² Edwards's West Indies, B. ii. c. i.

⁴³ See Vol. i. c. i. in loc.

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not a worthless, instrument; and these aggressions, in their turn, provoked those wondrous feats of piracy which are detailed in the history of the French and English Buccaneers.

Cromwell alleged that the proceedings of Spain in the West Indies, during the early years of the Commonwealth, were violations of the treaty then existing between that country and England; and fitted out an expedition, in 1654-5, under the command of Penn and Venables, with orders to capture Hispaniola, the stronghold of Spanish dominion in the West. But the expedition, ill-planned and worse conducted, totally failed: upon which its commanders turned their arms against St. Jago de la Vega,—now called Spanish Town, and, at that time, the capital of Jamaica,—which, with the whole Island, soon fell an easy prey into their hands “.

Reasons
inducing
Cromwell to
this act.

Into the consideration of all or most of the arguments which have been urged by various writers, in condemnation or approval of this act of Cromwell, it is not my office to enter. Leaving it, therefore, to the general historian to determine its proper character, I will only advert briefly to some of the reasons inducing him to it, which were avowedly placed upon the ground of religious duty, and, therefore, deserve notice in the present work. They are worthy of remark, also, as illustrating the train of thought and action which at that time prevailed in England, and to which the minds of most men had

“ Edwards, B. ii. c. ii.

become so familiar, that we find them almost unconsciously spreading the cloak of religious service over acts and intentions that were plainly repugnant to religious truth. Thus, in a paper delivered, in 1653, to Vermuyden, the Dutch ambassador, upon the subject of a Treaty between England and the States of the United Provinces,—after providing under various stipulations for the free commerce of the citizens of both countries, in all regions of the globe, and declaring that ‘all acts of enmity whatsoever done aforetime, were to be quit and forgotten,’—Cromwell proceeds to say, ‘that teachers, men gifted in knowledge of Jesus Christ, shall be sent by both states respectively, unto all people and nations, to inform and enlarge the Gospel and the ways of Jesus Christ.’ So far, all seems fair and reasonable. But, upon reciting the motives which were regarded as likely to influence the two nations in concluding such a treaty, the strange intermixture of ambitious and worldly policy with professions of religious zeal becomes apparent. The paper declares it to be necessary for the prosperous union of the two nations, that ‘they should take in hand such enterprizes, as will occasion them to gather more strength in shipping and seamen, the better to resist and defend, and to be for the enriching of both states, and for the propagation of true religion:’ that they were also ‘to remember, how the Spaniard hath been busy this hundred years or more, to settle him into a fifth monarch; and to bring these devices to pass, they did massacre, mur-

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der, bring to martyrdom them of the Reformed religion throughout all Europe: also the power of the states of Rome joined with his wicked ends, and effected by power of armies, employed all the wealth of America yearly thereunto, and will so still, so soon as he can find an opportunity if not prevented:—also, ‘how many hundred thousand poor innocent Indians the Spaniard with cruelty hath slain and murdered without a cause, on purpose to make him master of all America, and to have room for the Spaniards; it concerneth both states to consider how blind ignorant all that part is (being near the moiety of the world) in the true knowledge of Jesus Christ; and what an infinite good should arise to the honour of God, by the increasing the kingdom of Jesus Christ, to make a conquest upon the Spaniard there:’—‘that, by doing so, there would of necessity follow the unableness of the Spaniard, that having lost America, his sword, as it were, is taken out of his hand; and so, consequently, all Europe will be discharged of the cruel wars, and perpetual attempts and plots, either by himself or by the Emperor in Germany, who there of late was near to have extirpated the true religion, and did set up instead thereof popery and idolatry, and this by the help of the Spaniard’s money:’—‘that this conquest of America, as can be made appear, may be in the general done in one year, (if secretly,) and the Brazils the second year, and with no more ships; but that England and the United Provinces may easily furnish them, and yet not to so many as both now have to

use the one against the other; and by this conquest England may very well enjoy such a revenue, as to discharge all taxes of the subject of England, and to pay all the navy and forces by sea and land, by the customs of America, besides the great trade and riches the subject shall have thereby. The particulars how and what is too large, and timely enough, when the resolutions are taken ⁴⁵.'

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The reader will see here the skilful combination of a desire to propagat true religion, and to advance the glory of God and the kingdom of Jesus Christ by the conversion of ignorant heathen, with the dazzling prospect of power and of wealth to be acquired by the conquest of America and the Brazils:—power, that should take the sword out of the hand of the most formidable antagonist in Europe; and wealth, that should supply the means of defraying every expenditure at home and abroad.

The observations addressed to the Protector, in 1654, upon the same subject by Mr. Thomas Gage, formerly a Roman Catholic Priest, officiating in the West Indies, were couched in the same strain ⁴⁶; exhorting him, in the same sentence, to strike down those his enemies with the arm of his power, and praising the faith, wherewith he waited for the conversion of the poor Indian, and longed to see 'the

⁴⁵ Thurloe, ii. 125, 126.

⁴⁶ His recantation Sermon, entitled 'The tyranny of Satan, discovered by the teares of a converted Sinner,' was 'preached in Paule's Church, August 28, 1648.' Gage describes himself, in the

title-page, as 'formerly a Romish priest for the space of 38 years, and now truly reconciled to the Church of England.' In p. 17, he relates the story of an event which happened to him, as he was saying mass in a town of the West Indies.

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light run more and more forwards, until it should settle in the West among the simple and purblind Americans.' The like insinuations against Austria and Spain characterize this document, coupled with every argument which the writer could bring together, to show the success with which England might then attack the Spanish possessions in the Western hemisphere. He does not confine his attention only to the West Indian Islands; but the Honduras, Guatemala, Yucatan, Mexico, and even Peru, are, one by one, described in the most alluring terms, for the purpose of stirring up Cromwell to some aggressive act against them. And then, in the conventional phraseology of the day, he thus concludes: 'These few observations (having espied, as Joseph Egypt, that fat & rich country) I thought it my duty to present unto your highnesse, as did formerly Columbus present unto King Henry the Seventh his discovery of the rich part of the world, which then was not regarded. God would not make that prince such an instrument for the advancing his glory, as hee hath made your highnesse. The Lord grant that your faith may yett be active abroad, as well as at home. The Lord grant that yett you may ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer. The Lord make your highnesse, as our protector, so also a protector of those poore Indians, which want protection from the cruelties of the Spaniards. The Lord make your highnesse yett his instrument for the enriching of this poore island; and the Lord, who is rich in mercy, inrich your soule with the

spiritual riches, which is, and ever shall be, the constant prayer of your highnesse most faithful servant, and daily oratour before the throne of Grace, Thomas Gage ⁴⁷.

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A letter of Colonel Modiford also, written about the same time from Barbados, speaks similar language; describing, with greater minuteness, the course to be pursued by any expedition which should be sent out for the purpose of assailing the possessions of Spain; and advising that the English should attempt to settle plantations in the continent of South America, and particularly on the banks of the Orinoco ⁴⁸. This Colonel Modiford, I have already said, was one of those who had served on the King's side in the Civil War, and upon whom the dignity of Baronet was conferred after the Restoration ⁴⁹. It is evident, that, during the interval, he strove hard to propitiate the Protector and his friends: and not without success; for it appears, that, upon the reduction of Barbados under the Commonwealth, Searle was appointed its first Governor, and remained in that office until the death of Cromwell, when the Committee of Safety appointed Modiford his successor ⁵⁰.

Upon the capture of Jamaica by the English, conspicuous evidences were found of the care which had been taken by its Spanish masters to establish in that Island the symbols of their faith. Among these, were two Churches, named the Red and White Cross, and

Jamaica
during the
Common-
wealth.

⁴⁷ Thurloe, iii. 59—61.

⁴⁸ Ibid. iii. 62, 63.

⁴⁹ P. 202 and notes.

⁵⁰ Short History of Barbados,
p. 19.

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⁵¹ It is stated also, upon the authority of Sir Hans Sloane, in the Preface to his *Natural History of Jamaica*, that, in the city of Seville, upon the north side of the Island, the ruins of which were visible in his time, 1687, a Cathedral had been built, of which the celebrated author of the *Decades*,

Peter Martyr, was Abbot, and Suffragan of the Archbishop of St. Domingo.

⁵² Ps. lxxiv. 7.

⁵³ Long’s *History of Jamaica*, i. 239, 240.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 242—256; Thurloe, iii. 497.

Jamaica was inflicted a portion of the same curse which had fallen upon most of our other plantations in that day,—would that we could say that the evil has ceased to operate in our Colonies in our own day!—namely, that of being burdened and tainted with some of the vilest outcasts of the mother country⁵⁵.

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But this was not the only trial which then assailed the English in Jamaica. Scenes of most intense suffering succeeded each other with frightful rapidity; the description of which is given in the letters preserved in Thurloe's Collection. Before the death of Fortescue, many of these difficulties had arisen; and he speaks of them in a spirit of calmness and patient hope which proves him to have been no ordinary man. The religious phraseology, indeed, so prevalent in that day, was adopted, it is well known, oftentimes, by many whose religion was nothing else but words. But this was not the case with Fortescue. Although surrounded on every side with peril, exposed to constant attacks from the inhabitants of the Island, and seeing his own ranks daily thinned by the ravages of famine and disease, he could nevertheless write to his friend, 'Mr. Taylor, Minister of the Gospell,' in the following strain: 'Who knowes

⁵⁵ The language of the late Dr. Arnold upon this subject is not too strong. It was employed by him in a letter which he wrote in 1836 to Sir John Franklin, then appointed Governor of Van Diemen's Land: 'I am sure that no such evil can be done to mankind as by

thus sowing with rotten seed, and raising up a nation morally tainted in its very origin. Compared with this, the bloodiest exterminations ever effected by conquest were useful and good actions.' Arnold's *Life and Correspondence* by Stanley, ii. 46.

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whether God hath not sent us before to make way for the gossell? I hope God will incline and dispose the heart of such as fear God, to come and sitt downe amongst us. We have encountred and waded through many hardships and difficulties; but all's nothing, soe as we may be instrumentall to propagate the gossell. Were it not in this confidence, I should have sunk in the worke, as others have done, but this consideration beares me up. Doubtles God is doinge a greate and strange worke. Who would not be forward to have a hand in it? Meethinks I can doe and suffer on that account, that I may see the promises and prophecies fulfilled, and, which is more, to be instrumentall therein, tho' an honour of which I am not worthy; yet such honour shall his people have. Consider and revolve God's word and the present worke; and let none stande still that be helpfull and serviceable in God's worke. Had I 5000 lives, 1000 sons, all should be offerred up to it.—I trust God will spirit men for this worke, and give them other hearts: men of ordinary spirit are not fitt for extraordinary atchievements. What a desirable and joyfull thinge would it be, to see many godly men flock and flow in hither, there is accomodation worke for them! Here they may serve God, their countrey, and themselves. I dare say, he that cumes on such accounts shall not have cause to repent his voyage: many there are that came out with us vauntinge, as if they would have carried the Indies, bigg with expectation of gold and silver ready told up in baggs, not findinge that, but meet-

inge with some difficulties and hardships, and wish that they were at their onyons, &c. Severall of such, according to their desires and discontents, we have dismiss, and may returne with shame enough ⁵⁶.’ It appears that seven clergymen had been sent out to minister among the troops ⁵⁷,—selected, of course, on account of the congeniality of their views with those of the men who then ruled with absolute authority at home,—but six of these were soon removed by death, or incapacitated by wasting sickness. And yet, whilst this diminution of their numbers was going on, a few weeks after the date of the above letter, there appeared the following declaration, signed by Fortescue, in the name and on behalf of the officers under his command: ‘Forasmuch as we conceive the propagation of the gospel was the thing principally aimed at and intended in this expedition, I humbly desire that his highness will please to take order, that some godly, sober, and learned minister may be sent unto us, which may be instrumental in planting and propagating of the gospel, and able to comforte and stop the mouth of every cavilling adversary and gainsayer, and the rather for that two of the ministers are already dead, and a third lieth at the point of death ⁵⁸.’

The man who, at such a time, and under such circumstances, could thus think and write, must be looked upon with respect, I think, even by those who have no sympathy with the rulers by whom he

⁵⁶ Thurloe, iii. 651. The letter is dated Jamico, July 15, 1655.

⁵⁷ Long's History of Jamaica, ii. 294.

⁵⁸ Thurloe, iii. 681.

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was employed, or who may disapprove many of the acts which he was the instrument to execute. In spite of all the deep hypocrisy and cruel fanaticism which were so frequently the reproach of the school in which Fortescue was brought up, he was evidently one who held fast his integrity; and his memory, therefore, is worthy of being held in honour. The character of Sedgewicke also appears fully to merit the eulogy bestowed upon it by the best historians of Jamaica ⁵⁹. But, whatsoever may have been the influence for good, which some might have expected from a continuance of their rule, it was not permitted to be realized. Both these men were soon numbered with the dead. D'Oyley next succeeded to the command; a brave and intelligent officer, who maintained his position against the factious spirits of the army as successfully as against the Spaniards, who then, and for some time afterwards, made the most vigorous exertions to recapture the Island. He seems not, however, to have had the confidence of Cromwell; and was soon superseded by General Brayne, who arrived at the end of the year 1656. In a few months more, Brayne too fell a victim to the destructive climate; and D'Oyley, having resumed the command, retained it until the Restoration; when he was confirmed in it by a commission from Charles the Second. It was, probably, the suspicion entertained by Cromwell that D'Oyley was more disposed to favour the King's cause than his own, that made him so long reluctant

⁵⁹ Long, i, 257, 258.

to entrust the government of the Colony to his hands; and D'Oyley, with a frankness which reflects upon him the highest honour, solicited Cromwell, after the death of Brayne, to confer the office upon Colonel Barrington. But his request was not complied with; and he continued, until the end of the Commonwealth, to maintain a successful defence against his Spanish assailants, and to spread the spirit of order, more and more, throughout the ill-assorted masses of his own people. With all this firmness and sagacity in command, he rigidly abstained from any attempt to enrich himself by establishing monopolies for his own profit, or by resorting to any other system of extortion. Temptations to do this abounded on every side; but D'Oyley resisted all; and, with clean hands and honest heart, having guided the Island through many difficulties and perils, he gave it up to his lawful King a thriving Colony⁶⁰.

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I have not room here to dwell upon the many points in his character which deserve notice; but one trait may be briefly adverted to; and that is the humane spirit which he manifested towards Quakers. He writes thus to Thurloe, in 1657, respecting them: 'There are some people lately come hither, called Quakers, who have brought letters of credit, and do disperse books amongst us. Now my education and judgment prompting me to an owning of all that pretend any way to godliness and righteous-

⁶⁰ Ibid. 285.

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ness (whereof these people have a very great appearance), and the prints telling me that other heads of their people are contriving against the government, and accounted conspirators against his highness (so the book calls them) hath put me to stand how to carry myself towards them.' He acknowledges them to be 'people of unblameable life;' and asks for advice as to the course which he should pursue⁶¹. I cannot find what answer was returned to this enquiry; but, at a time when the Statute Books of our own country, and of New England and Virginia, were so frequently disgraced by the most oppressive and cruel enactments against Quakers, it is some consolation to feel that they should have been looked upon with kindness and consideration by a soldier, and suspected royalist,—the Governor of our largest Island in the West.

Guiana
under
Charles
the First.

One more plantation, in the same quarter of the globe, which attracted a considerable share of the attention of the English during the present period, remains to be noticed, namely, Guiana. I have already described generally its position in the continent of South America, and the circumstances which associated it with the name of Sir Walter Raleigh, in the closing years of his eventful life⁶². The brief notice which I am now about again to take of the country, will show, that, both before and after the death of Raleigh, the attention of several of our countrymen

⁶¹ Thurloe, vi. 835. Long thinks it probable that most of these Quakers soon left Jamaica for Pennsylvania, i. 278.

⁶² Vol. i. c. xii. in loc.

was directed towards it. Smith, the chronicler of Virginia, relates that he was at one time to have taken part in an expedition fitted out for Guiana, by Sir Oliver Leigh, and conducted by his brother; and that Sir Thomas Roe, who was afterwards Ambassador to the Great Mogul, had passed a year or two upon its coast, and had employed in the River Amazon the services of a Captain Morton, who subsequently joined Smith in Virginia; and that 'divers others worthy and industrious gentlemen, both before and since, had spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly'⁶³.

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I have adverted, in my former Volume, to the first of the expeditions here mentioned by Smith; and have said that the vessel, then sent out by Leigh, touched at Barbados on her way, and her commander is supposed by some persons to have been the first who took possession of that Island in our King's name⁶⁴. I refer to it, for a moment again, because I have found, upon a closer examination of the narratives in Purchas, that there was another brother of the same Sir Oliver Leigh, who had been in Guiana even before that period, and who seems to have been of a singularly devoted spirit. A letter, strongly indicative of this spirit, from him to the 'Worshipfull Knighte of Kent,' is extant, dated July 2, 1604, at the end of which he says, 'I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discrete men, and such as are well perswaded of the

⁶³ Smith's Travels, &c. in Churchill, ii. 404.

⁶⁴ Vol. i. c. xii. in loc.

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Church government in England ⁶⁵.' In the vessel sent afterwards to the relief of the former settlers, I find a proof that his request was, in some degree, complied with; for 'Mr. Tederington, Preacher,' was on board of her; and seems to have discharged faithfully all the duties of his office, until adverse circumstances compelled all parties to abandon the plantation ⁶⁶.

Of the other expeditions to Guiana enumerated by Smith, the most distinguished was that made by Mr. Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt. He went out thither, for the first time, in 1608; and, having explored part of the country, left his brother Michael, with twenty men, at Wiapoco, to keep possession of it in the King's name until he should return. An account of his proceedings upon this voyage, and of the motives which animated him, is given in a pamphlet, which he published in 1613, entitled 'A Relation of Guiana,' and dedicated to Prince Charles. This pamphlet was republished, with a few additions, in 1626; and, in the dedication to Charles the First, which Harcourt then prefixed to it, he states, that through the favour of Prince Henry, and in consideration of the labour and expense which he had undergone, James the First had granted to him Letters Patent for planting and inhabiting all that tract of land between the Amazon and Essequibo. But 'mighty crosses and grievous troubles' befalling him, had prevented his prosecution of the settlement; in consequence of which, King James had

⁶⁵ Purchas, iv. 1255.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 1260, &c.

granted the land between the Wiapoco and Amazon to a Corporation of Lords and Gentlemen, at the head of whom was Roger North, brother of Lord Dudley North. North had accompanied Raleigh upon his last expedition to Guiana; and, buoyed up by the hope that Raleigh's golden dreams might yet be realized, and not knowing, it appears, of the assignment which had been granted to Harcourt, he went out and settled, with more than a hundred followers, upon the banks of the Amazon. But the happy proceeding of this action, Harcourt informs us, was diverted by the opposition of Count Gondomar.

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The two grants, however, made to North and himself were afterwards united by mutual consent; and, upon this account, Harcourt urged again upon the attention of Charles the First his former 'Relation of Guiana,' for the purpose, he says, of showing 'what hopefull successe (through God's blessing) may be expected from the prosecution of so worthy an enterprize: first, by the glorious propagation of God's holy Church, and our Christian Religion amongst those Heathen nations, whose hearts, like waxe or white paper, are ready to receive any seale or impression we shall imprint on them.' Towards the conclusion of his work, he restates the 'three principall ends to be observed in every forraine action,' which he had urged in his former edition; and introduces them with the expression of the following important reason for dwelling upon them, namely, 'because our intention is (by God's favour and your Majesties gracious assistance) not only for

Sentiments
of those
who pro-
moted its
plantation.

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Trade and Traficke (as aforetime) but for a reall Plantation of the County, and Propagation of true Religion, than which nothing can be more profitable, honourable, and Holy.' The 'three principall ends' upon the observance of which Harcourt here insists, are 'first, that it may bee for the glory of God; secondly, for the honour of their Sovereigne; thirdly, for the benefit and profit of their countrey.' I will only call the reader's attention to the first of these; and it shall be given in the author's own words: 'It hath beene, and ever will bee held deere and vnquestionable, that God cannot be more honored, nor his holy name by any meanes more glorified, than by the prosperous growth and happy increase of his Church, through the conuersion of those that bee heathen and barbarous Nations to the knowledge of him our true God, his Sonne Jesus Christ, and the holy Ghost, the blessed individuall Trinitie, and to the profession and practice of Christianity; which heauenly and euer memorable worke, may through God's good blessing and assistance (without which indeede all our trauell therein, and all the labour of the world is but lost) bee easily effected and accomplished in Guiana; the people thereof being of a louing and tractable nature towards the English whom they loue and preferre before all other strangers whatsoever: and by whom (next vnder God) I verily hope, and am constantly perswaded, it will bee their blessed happe to bee freed from the seruitude of the diuell, that now so tyrannizeth ouer them, and to bee led out of that infernall

darknesse wherein they liue, and bee drawn to Christianity: for they will come vnto us (already) at time of prayer; shew reuerence, and bee very attentive all the while, although they vnderstand nothing: they will bee content that wee baptize their children, and will call them by the Christian names wee giue them, suffer vs to bring them vp, and in a sort acknowledge their ignorance, and shew a kind of willingness to be instructed and reformed ⁶⁷.' CHAP.
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The allusions made by Harcourt in this passage, to the instruction of the natives, and to the baptism of their children, prove, that, in his expedition, as in those to which I have just before referred, there had been present those who, like 'M. Tederington, Preacher,' were bound, by virtue of their sacred office, to communicate that instruction, and to administer that rite. But it has been a great disappointment to me to fail, as I have failed hitherto, in finding any further authentic account of the results of an appeal made, and, after an interval of thirteen years, renewed, in such faithful terms as those which Harcourt has here employed. Smith indeed has noticed, with his accustomed vigilance, the union under a new Company of the two Patents granted to Harcourt and North; and relates that four ships, with near two hundred persons, had been dispatched, in consequence, during the years 1628 and 1629; that the safer arrival of a larger

⁶⁷ Harcourt's First Relation, &c., 59, 60.

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portion of these had been reported; that, of the remainder, who had sailed afterwards, there had not been yet time to receive tidings; and that another vessel was being prepared with all expedition. Besides these, Smith adds that a hundred English and Irish had gone to Guiana from Holland, conducted by the old planters⁶⁸. I have not yet been able to discover what was the immediate issue of these enterprizes; but, if the statement in Collins's Peerage be correct, that the family property of the Harcourts was encumbered, for two generations afterwards, in consequence of the large sums expended upon these adventures by their ancestor⁶⁹, it is probable that little advantage of any kind resulted from them; and men, being thereby discouraged, would naturally turn a deaf ear to the high and solemn considerations by which Harcourt had sought to lead them to the undertaking.

The document, upon the same subject, of nearest date to the last published 'Relation of Guiana,' by Harcourt in 1626, is one which appeared in 1632, in consequence of another attempt then about to be made under the authority of Thomas, the first Earl of Berkshire, and second son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk⁷⁰. The pamphlet is entitled 'A Publication of Guiana's Plantation, newly undertaken by the Rt. Hon. the Earle of Barkshire, &c. and Company for that most famous river of the Amazonas in

⁶⁸ Smith, *ut sup.*, 405.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 154, and 159—161.

⁶⁹ Collins's Peerage, iv. 440. See also Clarendon, iii. 546. note.

America. Wherein is briefly shewed the lawfulness of plantations in forraine Countries; hope of the natives conversion; nature of the river, &c.' The initials J. D. are given at the end of the pamphlet; and the manner in which it is written, leads me to wish that I could have ascertained the name and position of its writer more precisely. I subjoin a few of his remarks upon the second subject mentioned in the title-page, namely, the hope of the natives' conversion. He founds it generally upon their character, which he describes as 'harmlesse, tractable, trusty, and somewhat laborious; in which respect (he adds) they differ much from all other Americans; and which is better to bee liked in them, there is good hope conceived of their conversion to the Christian faith, for as the man of Macedonia prayed St. Paul in a vision to come into Macedonia and helpe them, so have some of these poore ignorant soules desired Captain Charles Leigh to send into England for some men to teach them to pray; since which, one being converted and become a Christian, being at the point of death, desired some of our nation then present to sing a Psalme with him, which being ended, hee told them hee could not live, and did withall acknowledge that he had been a wicked sinner, but did hope that hee should be saved by the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and moreover, hee desired all of them present, to beare witness that hee died a Christian, yea, said hee, a Christian of England ⁷¹.'

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⁷¹ A Publication of Guiana's, &c. p. 12.

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The following passage also is important, as showing, by the testimony of a living witness, the evils to which I have frequently adverted in this work. 'Although it cannot be denied but that our nation of late years, hath beene very forward in settling of divers plantations beyond the seas, yet have they not all thereby so much glorified God as could be wished, nor dealt so faithfully with some adventurers as was expected, which thing no doubt being considered by many, hath beene the onely cause of keeping them backe from being adventurers, and no marvell, if when wee consider the persons commonly sent (I speake not of all, but of such onely) whose lives being base and idle here at home, can hardly be expected to be much better abroad in forraigne plantations, which, to speake truly, have beene no other (for the most part formerly) then common sinkes, wherein too many grieved fathers have cast in their desperate offspring, and the commonwealthe her most lawlesse inhabitants; such as by their conversations cause the good name whereby they are called to be rather "evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles" than otherwise; by means whereof it hath happened that the heathen have deemed that God as evil as their owne, whose servants were worse than themselves. Doth not God and nature teach, that "Whatsoever a man sow, that shall hee also reape?" "Not grapes of thorns, nor figgs of thistles," can men expect. And now, though plantes of grace (like fruitfull trees) are chiefest to be wished for in al plantations, yet no doubt may civil men be

sent in case of want, as nature's flowers for ornament. I wish therefore that care were had to send those plants, and leave the bad ⁷².'

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In a later part of his pamphlet the author gives directions to three classes of adventurers, who were to be permitted to embark in the enterprize; the first, consisting of those who were to assist in person and purse, and to be called 'personall adventurers;' the second, of those who were to assist in purse only, and to be called 'purse adventurers;' and the last, of those who were to assist in person only, and to be called 'servants to the Collony.' The contributions and profits, the duties and privileges, of the members of each class, are then carefully enumerated; and, in this part of the arrangement, there is manifested a most scrupulous spirit of justice towards all the parties concerned: after which, the writer thus concludes: 'Having briefly shewed the hopefulnesse of this plantation above others, whereby such as are faithfull (having ability) might become chiefly adventurers therein, and that such as are outwardly poore (yet rich in faith) might likewise adventure their prayers with them, for the prosperous successe of this new plantation; that it may be as a vineyard which the right hand of the Lord hath planted, and may grow up before him in the wilderness "being filled with the fruits of righteousnesse, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God," amongst the heathen, who seeing our pure conver-

⁷² Ibid. 13, 14.

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sation may bee wonne thereby to the knowledge and love of God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Which that they may so do, grant, O most gracious God, that as thou wast pleased to love us, when we were enemies as these, so likewise bee pleased to love these with us, that we and they may both agree to worship thee in sincerity of heart and vnity of faith.'

The history of this fresh attempt to colonize Guiana, under the authority of the Earl of Berkshire, is involved in obscurity as great as that which concealed from us the proceedings of Harcourt and his associates:—at least, I have not yet succeeded in gaining any satisfactory intelligence with respect to either of these adventures. I am disposed, however, to believe that the Earl of Berkshire did not prosecute his enterprize with vigour. The unhealthiness of the climate, the opposition of many of the natives, the interruptions by rival settlers from France and Holland, and, more than all, the increasing conflicts at home, in which he bore a prominent part on the King's side, were the causes which led to this result. The chief settlement made by the English, was at Paramaribo, on the Surinam river; and this, after a temporary abandonment of it, was again occupied by them in 1652⁷³.

This renewed settlement does not appear to have been made under the authority of Berkshire; but, probably, by those English Cavaliers whom Lord Willoughby, soon after his first appointment as

⁷³ Schomburgh's *British Guiana*, 82, 83.

Governor of Barbados, sent out from that Island to take possession of the country under Colonel Rous. This band of settlers kept their hold upon their country; and, in 1654, Major William Byam was elected lieutenant-governor by the unanimous suffrages of the colonists, and, in every succeeding year, re-elected by the Council and Assembly. Another officer, indeed, was sent by Cromwell to supersede him; but he withdrew upon finding the people of Surinam staunch in adhering to the ruler of their own choice ⁷⁴.

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Soon after the Restoration, the whole territory was granted by the King to Lord Willoughby, who was then reinstated in the governorship of Barbados; and by him the title of Surryham, in honour of the Earl of Surry, is said to have been given to the river on which Paramaribo was situate; whence not only the river, but the whole of the adjoining territory was called, with a slight alteration of form, by the name, which it has ever since retained, of Surinam. The British Crown soon afterwards purchased the Colony from the heirs of Lord Willoughby, and exchanged it with the Dutch for that important settlement in North America, which was then called New Holland, but is now New York ⁷⁵.

The limits which I have proposed to myself in the present chapter might well deter me from adding any thing more, in this place, respecting

⁷⁴ I am indebted for this and other valuable information to Mr. Edward S. Byam, a descendant of the above: and an interesting memoir of whose family is given in 'Antigua and the Antiguans,' ii. 314.

⁷⁵ Montgomery Martin's British Colonies, ii. 3.

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Guiana; but I will advert, for a moment only, to its government under Lord Willoughby, for the purpose of showing the manner in which its history reflects the state of affairs at home, and the consequent difficulty which, here as elsewhere, our Church would necessarily have to encounter in any attempt made by her to extend her ministrations to this quarter of the globe. Lord Willoughby, it has been already stated, had been at first upon the side of Parliament in the Civil War; and that circumstance, added to the many close personal connexions which he retained with influential members of the Presbyterian party, naturally drew around him many zealous and stirring men who were evil affected towards the ordinances and discipline of our Church. One of these, I find, was led to turn his footsteps to Surinam. I have already mentioned him, in this chapter, in connection with the history of Barbados, namely, Nicholas Leverton, who, at the time I have before spoken of, was chaplain in that Colony, and showed that he had not resolution enough to remain at his post amid the dangers which then assailed it. He left it, as I have said, for Tobago; where his hope of assisting to form a plantation upon safer grounds was again doomed to be disappointed. He then proceeded to Providence Island, which had become, at an early period of the troubles in England, a place of refuge for many of the non-conformists. Their minister was a Mr. Sherwood, through whose influence, it is said, Leverton was induced to reject the authority to which his ordination as a minister of the Church

of England had made him subject, and to fraternize with those who cast unjust reproach upon her worship. The Governor of the Island, Lane, sent him home in consequence; but, as the opposite party had already gained the ascendancy at the time of his arrival in England, Leverton was soon set free, and returned to Providence Island. Upon leaving it, some time afterwards, the ship in which he sailed was frequently becalmed, and the passengers were exposed to grievous sufferings through lack of food. A vessel, bound for the Bermudas, most opportunely came to their aid; and Leverton gladly turned aside to those Islands, where he is said to have preached for the space of a year 'with acceptance.' His marriage was solemnized, during his residence at the Bermudas; and he also became intimately acquainted, at the same time and place, with another non-conformist minister of considerable note in that day, John Oxenbridge.

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The fact that two such men were, at such a time, engaged as ministers of religion in the Bermudas, is at once a commentary upon the truth of the remarks which I have made at the close of the preceding chapter, and an explanation of the state of things in those Islands, to which I shall have to advert hereafter.

Upon returning to England, during the Protectorate, Leverton renewed his acquaintance with Sherwood, and was appointed to a living in Suffolk, from which he was ejected after the Restoration. Betaking himself, in this extremity, to his friend

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Oxenbridge,—who like himself had been deprived of preferment which he held at Berwick-upon-Tweed,—Leverton proceeded by his advice to Surinam, where he soon afterwards died ⁷⁶. Oxenbridge, in fact, addressed to all who were disposed to listen to him, a very strong appeal, in behalf of what he believed to be the proper means for evangelizing that new Colony, in a pamphlet, entitled, ‘A seasonable proposition for propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the continent of Guiana; being some gleanings of a larger Discourse drawn, but not published.’ He states therein that the plantation under Lord Willoughby on the river Surinam had been made at the request of the Indian inhabitants, and confirmed by a sum of money paid to them at his entrance; and, as a proof of the kindly feeling of the natives, he states that a single English family whose father was Jacob Enosh, had lived there peaceably for two years before it had been assigned to Lord Willoughby. The Scriptural arguments employed by Oxenbridge, in support of the proposition maintained in his pamphlet, are well chosen and ably pursued; and the same mournful reflection arises from the perusal of them, which is so frequently awakened by the history of these times, that, whilst sincere piety and ardent zeal dictated and enforced such arguments, the spirit of intolerant strife weakened them; and that the visible body of the Church of Christ was made for the time

⁷⁶ Calamy’s Nonconformists’ Memorial, i. 290—295.

helpless by this disruption of her members. The whole life of Oxenbridge appears to have been passed in religious discord. His earliest post of duty was that of Tutor of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; and of that he was deprived, in 1634, because he refused to give up the practice, which clearly he had no right to establish, of persuading his pupils to subscribe certain articles of his own framing. Thus, leaving his Church, and University, and native land, he became more and more estranged from them during the next few years of his life which he passed at the Bermudas. Afterwards, through the interest of the Long Parliament, he was appointed a Fellow of Eton College; and, if we follow him thence to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and next to London, we shall find him still active and earnest in inviting the co-operation of others, whose views were congenial with his own, and pointing to the new settlements in Guiana, under Lord Willoughby, as the most inviting and profitable field of labour. As time passed on, and the bonds of brotherhood between him and other non-conformists were drawn together more closely, he adopted, as was probable, their phraseology in all its strangest forms; and a more striking instance of extravagance of this kind can scarcely be imagined than that which appears upon the title-page of the pamphlet which has given rise to these remarks; for he announces the proposition therein argued and proved, to be 'by John Oxenbridge, a silly worme, too inconsiderable for so great a work, and therefore needs and desires acceptance and assistance from

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above.' But he was not content with urging by words his countrymen to enter upon the work. He led the way in his own person; and remained for some time at Surinam in the diligent discharge of his duties. He thence proceeded to New England, where he at length ended his vexed career ⁷⁷.

Slavery.

Before I turn the attention of the reader to other quarters of the globe, I wish to employ a few moments in the consideration of that humiliating state of things which has been so constantly forced upon our notice, in surveying the Islands and Continents of the West, namely, the existence of slavery. It was coeval with the earliest period of the subjugation of these countries to European masters. Even the halo of glory which surrounds Columbus is dimmed by the spectacle of the five hundred Indian slaves whom he sent home for sale at Seville ⁷⁸. In Cortez, the remembrance of those perilous and eventful scenes through which he had passed, and in which his own relentless will was oftentimes the sole law which governed him, awakened, in the closing hours of his life, many a solemn thought as to the extent to which the exercise of power by the European over the Indian could be justified ⁷⁹. And the con-

⁷⁷ Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, has dealt very unfairly with the character of Oxenbridge; but, happily, most of his aspersions are removed in a note, appended to the article, in Dr. Bliss's valuable edition.

⁷⁸ Irving's *Columbus*, b. viii. c. v.

⁷⁹ We read, for instance, in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, iii. 306, that Cortez, in a clause of his will, expressed 'a doubt whether it is right to exact personal service from the natives without compensation,' and added this remarkable declaration: 'It has long been a

tinued repetition of the most savage cruelties against the poor inhabitants of St. Domingo and other places by their Spanish invaders, aroused so strongly the indignation of Bartholomew Las Casas, a zealous Dominican Friar, and afterwards Bishop of Chiapa⁸⁰, that he returned and pleaded their cause before the rulers of his native land. But the plans devised by Las Casas to protect the Indians of America, only paved the way for the more systematic importation of negroes from the coast of Africa into the Spanish Colonies. As early as the year 1503, a few of them had been sent thither. Eight years afterwards, Ferdinand had permitted them to be carried in larger numbers; and, although by Cardinal

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question whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves. Since this point has not been determined, I enjoin it on my son Martin and his heirs, that they spare no pains to come to the exact knowledge of the truth, as a matter which deeply concerns the conscience of each of them no less than mine.'

⁸⁰ For Las Casas's account of these atrocities, see Purchas, iv. 1569, &c. It was written in 1542, and displays a train of barbarities which, were it not for the strong testimony upon which the history seems to rest, would be incredible. Thousands upon thousands of the natives perished under them; and the Spanish name was made thereby so hateful to the Indian, that Las Casas relates the story of one of their chiefs, when tied to a stake, and ready to be burnt to death, rejecting the entreaties of a young devout Franciscan who had

urged upon him the profession of faith in the true God, and the prospect of the blessings of heaven, and saying that heaven would be only a place of torment to him if he were to meet there (as the Franciscan assured him that he would) with any who belonged to such a cruel nation. Ibid. 1574. In corroboration of Las Casas's account, Sir Hans Sloane, who went out as physician to the Duke of Albemarle, Governor of Jamaica in 1687, relates, in the Preface to his Natural History of that Island, that he had seen quantities of human bones in caves in the woods, which were supposed to be the remains of the wretched natives who had voluntarily shut themselves up therein, and starved themselves to death, that they might be rid of the tyranny of their masters. The same circumstance is mentioned by Long, ii. 153, upon the authority of Esquemeling, who wrote in 1666.

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Ximenes such nefarious traffic was peremptorily forbidden, yet, after his death, a patent was granted by Charles the Fifth to one of his Flemish favourites, for the exclusive privilege of importing four thousand negroes into America; and this patent, having been purchased by some Genoese merchants, enabled them and their successors to give a permanent character to this disgraceful branch of commerce⁸¹. True, Charles may have repented him of the measure, and done what he could to check it⁸²; but the remedy came too late. The love of power and of gold, passions which seldom slumber in the heart of man, were now stimulated into quick and eager action; and they who had let them loose, could not, with like ease, recall them. Leo the Tenth, indeed, might give a righteous judgment upon the matter, which the Dominicans and Franciscans, disputing about this very question, referred to him for decision, and say, 'that not only the Christian religion, but that nature herself cried out against a state of slavery⁸³.' Our own Elizabeth, too, might look coldly upon Hawkins when he came home, with the unenviable distinction of having been the first English captain who had shared the base spoils of negro traffic, and condemn, as some have said she did, in unqualified terms, the wickedness of the act⁸⁴. But, if Europe placed no greater restraints than these upon the

⁸¹ Herrera, quoted in Robertson's *America*. Works, viii. 318, 319.

⁸² Clarkson, i. 37.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 39.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 40, 41. I have shown, however, in my first Volume, c. vi. in loc., that there is strong reason to doubt the story here told of Elizabeth.

unlawful desires of her children, it was clear, that, as soon as the opportunity arrived, the indulgence of them would be gratified to the uttermost. And this was soon proved by the event. The introduction of slavery into our Colonies in North America, we have seen, was caused by the arrival of a Dutch vessel at James Town in Virginia, in 1620⁸⁵. And the purchase of the twenty negroes who then formed part of her cargo, was followed so speedily by similar purchases upon a more extended scale, that, fifty years afterwards, we find Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, reporting the population of the province to be forty thousand, of whom two thousand were black slaves⁸⁶. The extent to which the spirit of contemptuous indifference respecting slaves prevailed, from the outset, in Maryland, has been already proved, in this Volume, from the terms in which they were alluded to by her Assembly, in 1638⁸⁷. And, although in New England, a noble stand was made against certain parties who ventured to trade to the coast of Guinea for negroes, and an order passed for the restoration of them to their native country; yet the native Indians, who were taken in war, appear to have been doomed by them, without any scruple, to perpetual slavery⁸⁸. And then, if we carry forward our attention to the West Indies we find, that, wheresoever English adventurers set their foot, they acted, as a matter of course, on the basis already laid down by

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⁸⁵ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

⁸⁶ Hening, ii. 515.

⁸⁷ See p. 125.

⁸⁸ See the authorities quoted from Winthrop and the Colony Records, by Bancroft, i. 174 and 168, 169.

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the Spaniards or roving pirates of the Antilles, who had preceded them; and regarded the slave always as the absolute property of his master. In Barbados, we have seen, that, rapid as was the increase of the English planters⁸⁹, the number of slaves was far greater; and although the Act, which declared negroes to be real estates, was not passed in that Island until 1668⁹⁰, yet the description, given in this chapter of their treatment,—a description, which applies alike to the native Creole and to the imported African,—is proof enough to assure us of the hopeless degradation of their state. In Jamaica, we are told, that the number of negroes, at the time of its capture by the English, was nearly equal to that of the whites⁹¹; and the hardships which, we have seen, were there encountered by the English were not likely to mitigate their feelings towards the slave. And, if it be asked, whether a better state of things prevailed in Surinam, the only answer which I can give is that supplied in a pamphlet, written by a Mr. George Warren, at an early period of the reign of Charles the Second, and entitled, ‘An impartial description of Surinam,’ which states that ‘the negroes or slaves are for the most part brought out of Guiney in Africa to those parts where they are sold like dogs, and no better esteem’d but for their work sake, which they perform all the week with the severest usages for the slightest fault, till Saturday afternoon, when

⁸⁹ See p. 203.

⁹⁰ Hall’s Laws, 64.

⁹¹ Edwards, i. 157.

they are allowed to dress their own gardens or plantations, having nothing but what they can produce from thence to live upon; unless perhaps once or twice a year, their masters vouchsafe to them, as a great favour, a little rotten salt fish; or, if a cow or horse die of itself, they get roast meat; their lodging is a hard board, and their black skins their covering. These wretched miseries not seldome drive them to desperate attempts for the recovery of their liberty, endeavouring to escape, and, if like to be retaken, sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves; or, if the hope of pardon bring them alive into their master's power, they manifest their fortitude, or rather obstinacy, in suffering the most exquisite tortures that can be inflicted upon them, for a terror and example to others, without shrinking.' The writer adds, that 'they believe the ancient Pythagorean error of the soul's transmigration out of one body into another, that when they dye, they shall return into their own countries, and be regenerated, and so live in the world by constant revolution; which conceit makes many of them over-fondly woove their deaths, not otherwise hoping to be freed from that indeed unequall'd slavery.'

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I shall relate, in a subsequent chapter, the manner AFRICA. in which some of our Clergy in the West Indies strove, soon afterwards, under the severest difficulty and discouragement, to repair the evils of which I have here taken a general survey. At present, I wish to

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trace the relations which subsisted, in other ways, between our own country and the unhappy land of Africa.

The English sometimes enslaved by the Moors.

It is impossible, indeed, to cast even the most transient glance upon those relations, and not see that they are all connected, in one way or another, with the subject which has just been presented to the attention of the reader. And, it is worthy of remark, that, whilst the English thus multiplied the number of negro slaves, throughout their various possessions in America and the West Indies, without manifesting any consciousness of the wrong which they thereby inflicted, there were not wanting frequent instances, in which the very same outrage was committed against their own people by the Moors; and the ransom paid for their redemption from slavery, or the forces sent out to rescue them by force from the grasp of their oppressors, showed how quick and resolute England was to resent, on behalf of her own children, the injustice which she dealt out in such abundant measure, to those of another land. I have already noticed similar instances, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, in which efforts were made by England for the relief of such of her citizens as were carried at that time into slavery by the Algerine corsairs; and have expressed the regret, which all, I think, must feel, that the hatred of such oppression, so promptly manifested by our countrymen, when they were the parties that suffered it, had not restrained them from being guilty of the same

sin⁹². The period of our national history, now under review, furnishes fresh instances of the same character, and, of course, fresh causes for the same regret. Thus, in the first year of Charles the First's reign, when an expedition was planned against Spain under Buckingham, then Lord High Admiral, instructions were given to detach some of his ships to the port of Sallee, in Barbary, for the purpose of negotiating the ransom of English prisoners in that place, and for protection against piracy⁹³. Again, in the following year, an envoy was commissioned to proceed from this country to the same port for the same purpose; and, in order to effect an exchange of captives the more easily, he took out with him all the Moors who had at any time been taken by our vessels⁹⁴. A like mission was sent out in 1628⁹⁵. Moreover, in 1632, an English squadron assisted the Emperor of Morocco, at his request, in destroying the fortifications of Sallee, and rescuing three hundred Christian captives, who were given up to Charles the First⁹⁶. And, in the message sent by the King to both Houses of Parliament, April 28, 1642, he states 'that he had passed a bill, at their entreaty, concerning the captives of Algiers⁹⁷.' Besides such evidences of the fact, I find others calculated to place the matter, in a yet more affecting point of view, before the eyes of our countrymen.

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Remedial
measures.

⁹² Vol. i. c. vi. in loc.

⁹³ Rymer's *Fœd.* xviii. 171.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 793.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* xix. 25.

⁹⁶ Anderson's *History of Com-*

merce in Macpherson's Annals, ii. 371.

⁹⁷ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion, ii. 379.*

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Sermons were not unfrequently preached for the purpose of exciting their sympathy on behalf of their brethren who thus suffered; and collections made in many of the Parishes throughout England for their relief, as some of our Parochial Registers, extant at this day, will prove⁹⁸.

Fitz-
Geffry's
Sermons.

Of the Sermons upon this subject, the most remarkable are those which were preached, three in number, by Charles Fitz-Geffry, at Plymouth, in 1636, entitled 'Compassion towards Captives; chiefly towards our Brethren and Countrymen, who are in miserable Bondage in Barbarie;' and the text upon which they are founded is that touching precept of the Apostle, Hebrews xiii. 3: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body." The preacher gives an appalling, yet true, picture of the sufferings of those Christians who had been carried off as slaves into the ports of Barbary; and, being thus led to speak of the character of that country, draws in the following terms the contrast between its former condition and the present: 'Were Barbary as it was before it turned Barbary, there would be some comfort of living in it, when it was famous for arms, arts, civility, piety. How many renowned Martyrs, reverend Bishops, famous Fathers, hath Africk yeilded unto the Church. To Africk, we doe owe zealous Cyprian, learned Tertullian, fluent Fulgentius, acute Optatus,

⁹⁸ Vol. i. ut sup.

and the greatest light of the Christian Church (after S. Paul) divine Augustine. Insomuch that posterity could as hardly have missed that country as any one nation in the Christian world. But now a man may seeke Africk in Africk, and not finde it. Instead of Africk, we find Barbary and Morocco; instead of Martyrs, Martyr-makers; instead of Confessors, opposers of Christ, oppressors of Christians; instead of godly Ministers, godless Mufties; instead of Temples and Schooles, cages of uncleane birds, dens of thieves.' Hence he applies a warning to Christian England, lest, through her contempt of God's mercies, He might make even her "fruitful land" in like manner "barren," 'and leave no more signes of our Cathedrall Churches then there is now to be found of S. Augustine's Hippo, or S. Cyprian's Carthage.' The appeal which he makes towards the end of the first Sermon, for the relief of the English captives, is strong and earnest: 'Remember them,' he repeats, 'Nay, how can you (if you have Christian hearts) forget them? sooner should your right hand forget her cunning, sooner should you forget both right hand and left, sooner should you (with Messala Corvinus) forget your owne names then your brethren's intolerable bondage, who have given their names to Christ, and daily suffer such greevances because they will not renounce the name of Christ. O! let not your enjoyed liberty and present prosperity banish them and their thraldome out of your memory. While you sit safe at home, and see the smoake of youre owne chimnies, breathe in the best,

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your owne English ayre, they sit downe "by the waters of Babylon, and weepe" at the remembrance of Sion. While you "feed on the fat of lambes, and drinke wine in bowles," they eate the bread of sorrow, and drinke dry the river Marah. While you have your musicke at bankets of wine, their wine is their teares; the jingling of their chaines, their sorry musicke; broken hearts, their harpes; sighing, their singing; and some prolonged hope of enlargement by your charitable contribution, their only earthly comfort. While you come to the Temple and to the Table of the Lord, doe heare the word of the Lord, may have the ministers of the Lord come unto you, to conferre with you, to comfort you, (though too few doe make use of such happiness), they (deare soules) doe see nothing but "the abomination of Satan," the God Manzim, the mocke God Mahomet, circumcised Cadees, urging them in the language of Satan, If thou wilt have ease or liberty, "fall downe and worshippe me"."

A passage occurs in his third Sermon, remarkable both for the story to which it refers, and for the specimen which it gives of the play upon words, so frequently made by writers of that day. He is arguing against the excuses made by covetous men for not helping that work of charity, and says: 'Our covetous Nabals have their topicks, common-places, whence they fetch arguments against giveing and relieving. They offer to defend their Baal by God's

" Fitz-Geffry's Sermon, 8—18.

book which doth utterly overthrow it. Busbequius, a grave author, sometimes embassadour to the great Turke from the German Emperour, reports how forward the Christian merchants were in Pera (a place adjoining Constantinople) for the redeeming of certaine Christians there held captives. Onely there was one out of whose fingers could not be wrung one farthing towards the advancement of this charitable designe. His reasons were more unreasonable than his refusall, 'What these men are (said he) I know not; this I know, that their affliction is from God. Let them continue in that case into which God hath cast them, untill it please him to free them. Seeing it pleased God thus to punish them, who am I, that I should release them, unless I would be found to fight against God?' O cunning Sophister, Satan, who by arguments from the will of God, can impugne the will of God, and from his providence maintaine covetousnesse, the main opposite unto God's providence. Mine author gives not the name of this monster. Only he saith that he was an Italogrecian, a mungrel between a Greek and an Italian. Such as his lineage was, such was his language. God forbid that there should be among us such mungrels, to barke out such dogged speeches. This is certaine; compassion can have no admittance into the heart, where the evill spirit, covetousnesse, doth keepe possession.' Towards the end of the same Sermon, he gives a description (too long to extract in this place) of the boldness with which the Moorish pirates then braved the very mouths of some

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of the English harbours, and landing, under cover of the night, upon the coast, dragged away in bonds the defenceless men, and women, and children, whom they surprised¹⁰⁰.

Fitz-Geffry has appended to his Sermons an admirable letter of Cyprian, when he was Bishop of Carthage, to the Bishop of Numidia, concerning the redemption of the Christian brethren from the bondage of the barbarians; and also an extract from Ambrose's Second Book of Offices on the Benefits of Compassion. Several of the arguments contained in the former of these, he has worked into the body of his Sermon; and the strongest of them, namely, that which is based upon the intimate union subsisting between Christ and all the members of His Church, and the consequent obligation to honour Him in relieving them, he has repeated, at length, in nearly the same words¹⁰¹. The whole train of thought, both in the Sermons and Appendix, is excellently elaborated and adapted to the proposed end; and the only wonder is, that it never should have entered into the mind of one so engaged, that the oppression which he was so forward to denounce when the English suffered it, was all this while inflicted by English hands in the growing Colonies of the West.

Other testimonies, of like character with that furnished by Fitz-Geffry's Sermons, are to be found in other shapes; and, to save the necessity of ad-

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 39—46.

¹⁰¹ Compare p. 44 of the Sermons and p. 2 of the Letter.

verting to them hereafter, I may be permitted to glance at a few of them, although they relate to a later period than that which now occupies our attention. It is recorded, for instance, in the life of Cosin, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1672, that he gave the sum of five hundred pounds towards the redemption of Christian captives in Algiers. A letter also is extant from a gentleman, the initials only of whose name are given, B. M., to Bishop Compton, in 1701, concerning the charities collected for the redemption of captives in the empire of Morocco; and among the published works of Dean Sherlock, is an 'Exhortation,' delivered by him 'to those redeemed slaves who came in a solemn procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 11th of March, 1701-2, to give thanks to God for their deliverance out of their captivity at Machaness.'

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And yet England, indignant thus against all who dared to enslave her own children, and anxious thus to soothe their sufferings, and to sanctify their sorrows, put forth the hand of avarice and of violence to enslave the African, and cared nothing for the anguish that was sure to follow. Of the beginnings of this hateful traffic in human flesh, by our countrymen,—as far as they could be discerned in the time of Elizabeth,—I have already spoken ¹⁰². Of the attempt to organize its continuance, by the establishment of a Company to trade with Africa under James the First, and of its failure, I have spoken likewise ¹⁰³. It now remains

The second
African
Company,
1681.

¹⁰² Vol. i. c. vi. in loc.

¹⁰³ Ibid. c. xii. in loc.

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for me to notice the renewal of a similar attempt by Charles the First, when, in 1631, he erected a second Company, for thirty-one years, for the purpose of trading to the coasts of Guinea, Benin, and Angola, and the Isles adjacent, and prohibited all persons, except the Patentees upon whom he conferred the privilege, from entering, for the purposes of commerce, within the prescribed limits. The same cause as before,—namely, the intrusion of the Dutch,—prevented the Patentees from profiting by the grant; and hence the immediate objects for which they had been incorporated were put, a second time, into abeyance. But the forts and warehouses, which they had erected upon the coast, were meanwhile made use of by the East India Company, to whom the Parliament had granted, in 1651, a charter for five years¹⁰⁴.

During the Protectorate, in 1657, a suggestion was proposed to Thurloe, Cromwell's Secretary, by General Monk, that an effort should be made to obtain possession of Tangier, which is seated on a bay on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar. But this was not accompanied by any desire to check or mitigate the Slave Trade: on the contrary, the policy of allowing the Portuguese to continue that trade is therein openly avowed: 'I understand,' writes Monk, 'the Portugal Ambassador is come to London; and I make no question but he will be

¹⁰⁴ Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 369, 370. The same writer states, that about the year 1635, the French settled on the Senegal. Ibid. 390.

desiring some favour from my lord protector. There is a castle in the Strait's mouth which the Portugals have called *Tanger*, on *Barbary* side: and which, if they would part withal, it would be very useful to us; and they make little use of it, unless it be for getting of *Blackamoors*; for which his highness may give them leave to trade ^{105.}

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Reserving for future consideration those notices ^{INDIA.} of *Africa*, which will be involved in the renewed organization and encouragement of the *Slave Trade* in the reign of *Charles the Second*, I pass on to contemplate the course of our relations with *India* during the present period. The first charter, bestowed upon the *East India Company* of this country, had been granted, as we have seen, by *Elizabeth*, at the beginning of the seventeenth century ^{106.}; and, within three years afterwards, the first *English factory* was established at *Surat*. A second charter was given, in 1610, by *James the First*; and, during his reign, fresh factories had been settled; commerce extended; and an ambassador, *Sir Thomas Roe*, sent to the court of the *Mogul* ^{107.} With this early and rapid extension of the *English name* in *India*, had been connected the most severe and destructive conflicts with their *European rivals*; first, with the *Portuguese*, who, as early as 1510, had taken possession

¹⁰⁵ *Thurloe*, vi. 505. The suggestion here thrown out, was acted upon soon afterwards: for, in the marriage of *Charles the Second*

with *Catharine of Portugal*, *Tanger* was made part of her dowry.

¹⁰⁶ *Vol. i c. vi. in loc.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid. c. xii. in loc.*

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of Goa, and made it the centre of their dominion in the East; and, secondly, with the Dutch, who at the same time with our countrymen, were trying to establish themselves in various parts of India. The expulsion of our people from the Island of Banda by the Dutch, and the cruel tortures and massacre perpetrated against them by the same nation at Amboyna, may be cited as examples of the losses which they had to sustain before the end of James's reign ¹⁰⁸. These circumstances, together with the encouragement given, then and afterwards, to private traders, or, as they were called, Interlopers, may account for the little progress made by the East India Company, during the early years of Charles the First. The factories, indeed, already established, were still retained by them; of which Surat, on the coast of Malabar, and Bantam, on the north side of Java, were the chief. On the Coromandel coast, too, their agents had obtained a footing at Masulipatam, and Armagon; at which latter place a factory was erected, in February, 1625-6, just before the accession of Charles the First to the throne of England; and a fort built for its protection three years afterwards ¹⁰⁹. Again, in 1633-4, the rich province of Bengal was opened to them, permission having been, then for the first time, obtained from the Mogul to

¹⁰⁸ Anderson's History of Commerce, 305 and 318. It was not only in India, that the East India Company thus suffered; for, at home, the Duke of Buckingham extorted from them, in 1624, ten

thousand pounds for permission to set out upon one of their intended voyages. Ibid. 327.

¹⁰⁹ Bruce's Annals, &c. i. 269 and 295.

enter the mouth of the Ganges¹¹⁰. And, in 1640, by permission of the Naig of the District of Madraspatam, confirmed afterwards by the King of Golcondah, the English not only erected a factory at that place, but also a fort, which still retains the name, then given to it, of Fort St. George, and is now the seat of one of the three great Presidencies of our Indian Empire¹¹¹. CHAP.
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Notwithstanding the important advantages which seemed thus to be gained by the East India Company in Charles's reign, they were more than counterbalanced by the severe losses and opposition which were unceasingly sustained both abroad and at home. The commercial profits derived from some of the Company's agencies, although scanty and uncertain, were yet sufficient to stimulate the cupidity of others of their countrymen to compete with them in the same adventures. And, accordingly, the year 1637 was marked by the establishment of Courten's Association,—so called from the name of its chief member,—which was in fact nothing less than a new Company, receiving licence to trade with India, China, and Japan, for five years; and in which the King himself, as well as the members of his household, condescended to have shares¹¹². This Association, however, did not prosper. The indignant remonstrances of the original Company, and the per-

Second East
India Com-
pany, 1637.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 320.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 377. In Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 303, a much earlier date (1620) is erro-

neously assigned to the settlement of Fort St. George.

¹¹² Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 396.

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severing opposition of the Dutch, perplexed and thwarted their agents in every quarter; and hence, in 1647, the English trade with India is described generally, as having been reduced to the very lowest extremity ¹¹³.

St. Helena
acquired,
1651.

But the impulse given so extensively to English commerce under the Commonwealth, was felt in the direction of India, as in other quarters. Thus, looking only to the ocean which our ships had to traverse in their voyage thither, we find, that, upon the relinquishment of St. Helena, in 1651, by the Dutch, who then formed their first settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, their English rivals, for a time, took possession of it ¹¹⁴. And, extending our observation to India itself, we find, soon afterwards, that the disputes between the Dutch and English, which had so long been the bane of both, were also terminated. This was effected by the treaty between England and Holland, to which reference has been already made in this chapter; and it was agreed therein, that the Dutch should pay, in reparation of damages inflicted by them upon the English Company,—independently of those awarded to different representatives of the sufferers at Amboyna,—the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds sterling, and also restore the Island of Poleroon to the English ¹¹⁵. Had the Company been left free to act upon the authority granted to them by the terms of their original Charter, they might probably have been

Conflicting
claims of
the English
and Dutch
in India
reconciled,
1654.

¹¹³ Ibid. 492.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 445.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 456.

able to profit greatly by this reconciliation with the Dutch; but the constant infraction of their rights, by the intrusion of merchant adventurers from home, made this hopeless. This evil was in some degree remedied in 1657, when Cromwell re-established the East India Company upon the basis of a coalition between them and the principal merchant adventurers¹¹⁶. But the spirit of religious discord, so rampant in that day, found its way into the councils of the men who were thus associated, and hindered greatly the progress of their united efforts. Evelyn supplies us with a remarkable evidence of this fact by the following entry in his Diary: '1657, Nov. 26, I went to London to a court of y^e East India Company on its new union, in Merchant-taylors' Hall, where was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers oblig'd onely by an engagement, without swearing, that they might still pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them¹¹⁷.' No further change took place in the constitution of the East India Company, until the grant of another Charter was made soon after the Restoration.

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The course of events here glanced at will explain why nothing could have been effected by the English, for the greater part of the seventeenth century, towards the evangelization of India. It shows that India was a field, upon which our countrymen, although labouring in it for more than half a

Causes why
no systematic effort
was then
made to
evangelize
India.

¹¹⁶ Bruce's Annals, 516, &c.

¹¹⁷ Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 125.

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century, had not been able to effect any other settlement than that of small trading factories. The knowledge which they had been enabled to obtain, of the religion and customs of the various tribes with whom they came in contact, consisted only of such disjointed fragments of information as they could collect in the interchange of commercial goods. The means of communicating to them the treasures of sanctifying and saving truth, which were the glory of their own land, had not been more abundant. They had never been able to organize, or put into operation, those means of propagating the knowledge of their religious faith, which the Portuguese, from the day on which Albuquerque first made himself master of Goa, had exerted with such great zeal and success. Whatsoever, therefore, might have been the Christian sympathy and ardour of any of our countrymen who went out under the early charters of the East India Company,—whatsoever hopes or expectations they might have formed of being able, by the power of the Cross of Christ, to bring under its subjection the disciples of Brama or of Mahomet, they soon returned home baffled and disappointed; for they were not permitted to pass over even the threshold of the habitations of Indian idolatry.

That there were Englishmen, among those who first visited the coasts of Hindostan, and Japan, and the Persian Gulf, and the Islands of the Indian Archipelago, who, if such an opening had been presented to them, would have pressed in with intrepid and hopeful faith; and that the name of one of

them,—Copeland, Chaplain of the “Royal James,”—
 was speedily associated with some of the most cheer-
 ing evidences of Christian love which were witnessed
 in Virginia and the Bermudas in the same day, are
 facts distinctly proved by the testimonies which I
 have brought together in my first Volume, and I
 have adverted to them also at the end of the pre-
 ceding chapter. That more traces are not to be
 found, in the period now under review, of men who
 shared the spirit and emulated the example of Cope-
 land, is a fact which, I think, may be amply accounted
 for by the character of those proceedings in connec-
 tion with India, which have been just described.

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But this inability of the English to plant them-
 selves permanently in any part of India, and the
 consequent absence of any attempt to show them-
 selves, to the natives, as Christian men, was the
 source of much evil; for it tempted them gradually
 to lose all sense of the obligation resting upon them
 to make that demonstration. Viewing from a dis-
 tance the complicated ceremonies of Hindu super-
 stition, and being accustomed for many years,—from
 necessity, as we have seen, in the first instance,—
 to let them pass, without being able to bring to
 bear upon them any of the antagonistic influences
 of Christianity, they became at last impressed with
 the idea that it was a duty, as well as a wise policy,
 to pass over all such matters without notice; and,
 for the same reason, were content to keep in abey-
 ance the distinctive characters of their own faith,

Evils
thereof.

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even when the opportunity for vindicating it was fairly presented to them. A remarkable instance of this occurred at Madras, a few years after the English had first settled there. The Portuguese had already been for some time settled at St. Thomé, in its immediate neighbourhood; and a dispute had arisen between them and the natives, in consequence of one of their Padres having refused to allow a religious Hindu procession to pass his Church. The English refrained from interfering in the dispute, upon the ground that it was impracticable to overcome the religious prejudices of the natives. 'By this,' say the Agent and Council of Fort St. George, in their letter relating the transaction, to the Court, 'you may judge of the Lyon by his paw, and plainly discern, what small hopes, and how much danger, we have of converting these people, y^t are not lyke y^e naked and brut Americans, but a most subtle and polittique nation, who are so zealous in their religion, or rather superstitions, y^t even amongst their owne differing casts, is grounded an irreconcilable hatred, w^{ch} often produceth very bloodie effects¹¹⁸.' Now, it was quite possible that the Portuguese Padre might have acted uncharitably and unlawfully, as well as unwisely, in obstructing, as he is said to have done, the Hindu procession; and the English might very reasonably have refused to mix them-

¹¹⁸ Bruce's Annals, i. 455. The letter bears date January 18, 1650.

selves up with such a dispute. But to assume the utter impracticability of removing the religious prejudices of the natives of Hindustan, to regard the attempt as a service of danger, and, on that account, to keep back all public demonstration of that faith which was the most precious inheritance of England, was, in respect of the natives, to take for granted as proved, the very point which remained yet to be proved; and, in respect of the English themselves, was a guilty compromise and betrayal of the truth. In the conduct, therefore, of the English Agent and Council at Madras, with respect to this transaction, I believe that we may trace the germ of that apathy and irreligion which were, for so many years, the reproach of the English rule in India, and have made the reparation of the evil in our own day so much more difficult. The Church at St. Thomé, —whatsoever may have been the indiscreet zeal of him who ministered before her altar,—was a witness at least that they who worshipped there were not ashamed to hold up the symbols of their faith before the eyes of the natives of India. How long the Christians of Fort St. George,—who boasted that they were free from the superstitions of the Popish Portuguese,—could bear to see the extension of their commerce, and the increase of their secular power¹¹⁹, and yet remain without exhibiting any public evidence that they too were the servants of the same Lord, will be seen hereafter.

¹¹⁹ In 1653-4, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George were raised to the rank of a Presidency. Ibid. 484.

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Wood's
Holy Medi-
tations for
Seamen,
chiefly those
who sailed
to India.

But it is important to bear in mind, that the in-
difference thus manifested, was at variance with the
feelings of many who watched at home, with eager
interest, the progress of our early relations with
India. Among the evidences of this fact still extant,
I may mention a Pamphlet, entitled 'The True
Honor of Navigation and Navigators: or, Holy
Meditations for Seamen,—by John Wood, Doctor
in Diuinitie.' Its date ought more properly to have
called for a notice of it in my first Volume; for it
precedes by a few years the period which I have
prescribed to myself in the present chapter,—having
been published in 1618, towards the end of James
the First's reign. But the book, I believe, is scarce.
I did not meet with it until after the publication of
my first Volume; and, since the difference of five
or six years cannot affect the validity of the conclu-
sion drawn from the work itself, as a witness of the
sentiments felt by Ministers of our Church in the
age of which I am now writing, I readily insert a
brief notice of it in this place. In the Dedication,
which is addressed to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor
of the East India Company, and others, Wood
speaks of his having been an eye-witness of their
great care in providing all things necessary for the
bodies and souls of those whom they had sent out in
their several fleets to India; and, in token of his
gratitude for this their care, begs them to accept his
work, as another provision to supply the wants of
seamen. He considers, and, I believe, rightly,—
that it was the first attempt of the kind which had

been made for the benefit of English navigators; and it is a remarkable coincidence, that one of the motives which prompted Grotius, a short time afterwards, to write his celebrated Treatise upon the Truth of the Christian Religion, is stated by him likewise to be a desire to instruct, and edify, and comfort those of his countrymen who were then engaged so successfully in rearing up the maritime greatness of Holland¹²⁰. Wood had intended to have preached the substance of these Meditations as a Farewell Sermon, on board the Royal James,—the vessel which, we have seen, carried the faithful and zealous Copeland as her Chaplain,—and states that he ‘had diuers times before, upon the like occasions, done the like office.’ But, upon this particular occasion, having been prevented from fulfilling his intention, he was, therefore, the more desirous ‘that the things that then escaped the cares of a few, may now bee in the eyes and sight of all that please; and may not only bee a meanes to them to beguile some idle howres, but teach them in all places of the world, to make spirituall vse to their soules, of all occurrences that either by Sea or Land they shall meete withall.’ The fact, to which Wood here refers, that he had frequently spoken the words of warning and of comfort to English mariners, on board vessels ready to

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¹²⁰ ‘Propositum enim mihi erat omnibus quidem civibus, sed præcipuè navigantibus, operam navare utilem, ut in longo illo marino otio

impenderent potius tempus, quàm, quod nimium multi faciunt, fallerent.’ Grotius de Verit. Relig. Christ. lib. i. c. 1.

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depart for India, is not more indicative of the earnest and affectionate faith with which he and others, who embarked upon such adventures, were then animated, than is another fact, which he states at the end of his 'Epistle Dedicatorie,' a proof of the bountiful and liberal spirit of those who then conducted our intercourse with the East. 'I must needs set downe,' he adds,—'that as God hath greatly encreased your store, so yee haue not been backward to impart much, and more than any other Societie (that euer I could heare of) to the supplie of the wants of his poore members: your daily reliefe of poore Ministers of the Gospell, your charitie to Prisoners, to Widowes, to Orphans, and to all well-minded poore people that you find to stand in need of your helpe, cannot but pleade for you in the eyes of God and all good men. Goe on therefore (in God's name) in your noble designes, and rest ye still vpon his blessing, who (I doubt not) hath many more in store for you, and so long as you conscionably seeke to honour his name among the Heathen, and (vnder him) to aduance the State wherein yee live; will (no doubt) affoord you many comfortable assurances of his loue and fauour, both to your bodies and soules here in this life, and crowne you with eternall glorie with himselfe, in the life to come.'

The Meditations,—addressed 'to all honest professors and practisers of navigation, and especially to all navigators to the East Indies,'—are founded upon a consideration of the history of our Saviour's still-

ing the tempest on the Sea of Galilee¹²¹; and I only regret that it is not practicable to give any thing like a correct summary of the materials, which Wood has brought together in his exposition of the passage. Although encumbered by the needless prolixity of subdivisions, and obscured sometimes by the metaphysical and allegorical illustrations so prevalent among writers of his day, their value would well repay a careful examination. But, when I tell the reader that they reach the length of an hundred and five closely printed pages, he will see that it is impossible to introduce an abridgment of them in this place. The Author has appended to his Meditations several Prayers, to be used by mariners, which, for unction and fervour of devotion, and for stedfast adherence to the only true grounds upon which any prayer can be effectually urged at the Throne of Grace, are surpassed by none which I have ever yet met with in any private manual. I have inserted one, as a specimen, in the Appendix to this Volume¹²²; and will only add, that, had the matter and terms of this Prayer been remembered, and the spirit which it breathes been shared, by all those who went forth, in that day, from this country to the East or to the West, the name of England would have been known by the Christianity of England, throughout the whole world.

That the evidences of Christian sympathy and zeal to which Wood refers in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie,'—

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¹²¹ Matt. viii. 23—26.

¹²² See No. I. in the Appendix.

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Terry's
Thanks-
giving Ser-
mon before
the East
India Com-
pany.

as displayed by those who were at that time entrusted with the management of our commerce with India, —were renewed, by their successors, in spite of all the difficulties and discouragements which they had to encounter, is probable from the nature of the case. It can hardly be supposed that the flame of piety, which burnt so brightly, at the first, in the hearts of some of those associated in this enterprise, should have been wholly extinguished in a moment. One token, at least, of its existence has survived the shocks of that troublous age,—I mean the word of thanksgiving and of warning, spoken by Edward Terry, in the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft, before the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to India, on the return of a fleet of seven of their ships, in 1649. Terry had gone out as Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, in 1615, on his embassy to the Court of the Mogul. He had passed nearly four years in the country at that time; had written upon his return an account of his travels, &c., and submitted the same in writing to Charles the First, when he was Prince of Wales, in 1622¹²³. He was now Rector of Great Greenford; and, retaining still the interest in India, which he had acquired by his voyage thither, he was with good reason selected to preach the Sermon in question. He chooses for his text that appropriate passage in Psalm cvii. 30, 31, “Then are they glad, because they are at rest; and so he bringeth them unto the haven where they

¹²³ The work is entitled, ‘Voyage to India,’ &c., and was published, in a revised form, in 1655.

would be," &c.; and, having made a brief exposition of the words, applies them to the Church in every age, and particularly to those his hearers, who had just experienced the mercy of God in their safe return to England. And, having briefly adverted to the fact that he too had experienced the like mercy just thirty years before, when he had returned 'in the good ship Anne,' with Sir Thomas Roe; and having confessed that he should be 'unworthy to live a minute longer, if' he outlived 'the memory of that, or of any other great mercy' he had 'received'¹²¹; he passes on to the consideration of the duties which resulted from such acknowledgments, and thus enforces the special obligations incumbent upon those to whom he spake: 'Now that which I advise you to, in the first place, that God may blesse you in your Factories abroad, and in your returnes home, (which for my part I shall ever wish and pray for,) is as much as in you lies, carefully to take heede that you imploy such Presidents, Ministers of the Word, Factors, and other servants, residing in all your remote places of Trade, as may take speciall care to keep God in your families there: for let me tell you that it is a miserable thing for such as professe themselves Christians, in places where Christ is not knowne, or, if heard of, not regarded, *Gentes agere sub nomine Christianorum*, to play the heathens, nay, to do worse under the name of Christians; *per quorum latera patitur Evangelium*, to shame Chris-

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¹²¹ Terry's Sermon, 26.

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tianity by professing it; by whose miscarriages, the Gospel, Christianity itself, suffers ¹²⁵. I never thinke (he proceeds) of that story which you may finde in the 20th chapter of Genesis, where Abimelec reproves Sarah, but methinkes it is very sad to consider that an Abimelec, an heathen, should have cause, aye ¹²⁶, and a just one too, to reprove a Sarah, Sarah the wife of Abraham, Abraham the Father of the Faithfull: So for a Mahumetan, or an Heathen in India, observing the very loose lives of many of the English there, the very foule misdemeanors of those that professe themselves Christians; to say of Christianity (as I have sometimes heard), Christian religion, Divel religion, Christian much drunke, much rogue, much naught, very much naught. I speak this in their language, that is, their broken English speech, who live in those places who most converse with the English: And truly 'tis sad to behold there a drunken Christian, and a sober Indian; an Indian to be eminent for devotion in his seducing way, and a Christian to be remisse in that duty; for an Indian to be excellent in many moralities, and a Christian not so; for one professing to be a Christian, without which profession there is no salvation; to come short of those which come short of Heaven; what can be more sad than this ¹²⁷ ?

A later evidence of the like spirit, seeking to

¹²⁵ This passage occurs also in Terry's Voyage to India, 451.

¹²⁶ I (in orig.).

¹²⁷ Ibid. 29, 30. This last pas-

sage recurs, with little alteration, in Terry's Voyage to India, 254—256.

infuse its own love of holiness into the hearts of those who were then occupied in Eastern commerce, is found in another Sermon, preached, by the celebrated Edward Reynolds, before the East India Company, on the 4th of December, 1657,—the year in which, as I have just remarked, it was re-established under Cromwell. The acknowledgment is distinctly made in its dedication, that, ‘what businesses’ its governors ‘sought to prosecute by the concurrent counsels and services of men,’ they had been accustomed ‘to commend first to the favour and blessing of God.’ The Sermon is entitled ‘The Comfort and Crown of Great Actions;’ and its design is to show, by a review of the character of Nehemiah, the means through which alone they are to be secured ¹²⁸. It contains little which can interest the reader who looks for any exact description of the duties of those to whom it was addressed; and so far its perusal may disappoint him. Nevertheless, it is deserving of notice, not only as a luminous and eloquent exposition of the subject which it professes to discuss, but also on account of the high reputation of its author. Chosen, at the early age of twenty-three, to be the successor of Donne, in the Preachership of Lincoln’s Inn ¹²⁹, he was distinguished

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Reynolds's
Sermon
before the
same.

¹²⁸ Reynolds's Works, v. 49.

¹²⁹ He was elected to that office in 1622; Dr. John Preston, the well known Puritan, and Chaplain to Prince Charles, being his Assistant. Reynolds's three valuable Treatises upon The Vanity of the Creature, The Sinfulness of Sin,

and The Life of Christ, appear, by the terms of his Latin Dedication of them, to have been delivered by him before the Society of Lincoln's Inn in the shape of Sermons. In 1631, he was presented to a Living in Northamptonshire, and resigned the Preachership, in

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afterwards among those ministers of our Church, who, in the troubles of Charles's reign, inclining, from the outset, to the school of Calvin in matters of doctrine, assented at length to its teaching in matters of discipline also; and were found arrayed on the side of the Presbyterians, when that party arose to power. Reynolds took a prominent part with them, in the proceedings of the Assembly of Divines, of which he was a member; and, by their influence, was appointed, in 1648-9, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the ejection of Dr. Fell. In 1651, having refused to take the Engagement, he was, in his turn, ejected by the Independents, when they gained the ascendancy, and succeeded by the yet more celebrated John Owen, formerly a Presbyterian, but now the leading champion of the Independents¹³⁰. Passing the next few years of his life in the city of London, of one of the Parishes of which (St. Lawrence Jewry) Reynolds was Incumbent,—a circumstance, which opened the way more readily to his preaching the Sermon which has led to this brief notice of him,—he was, with the return of the Presbyterians to power, in 1659, reinstated in the Deanery of Christ Church; and, upon the Restoration of Charles the Second, in the following year, having been first appointed one

which office he was succeeded by Caryl, the author of the Commentary on the Book of Job. Chalmers's Life of Reynolds, prefixed to the octavo edition of Reynolds's Works, p. xxi.

¹³⁰ Orme's Life of Owen, 55—

57. It is curious to observe the perplexity felt by Orme, when he relates Owen's appointment to the Deanery, and the efforts which he makes to escape from the charge of gross inconsistency in which it evidently involved Owen. *Ib.* 108.

of the King's Chaplains, he became, soon afterwards, by his acceptance of the See of Norwich, a Bishop of that Church, whose authority he had disowned, and whose ordinances he had proscribed, at an earlier period of his life ¹³¹.

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Upon the merits of those censures which doubtless will be cast by many now, as they have been aforesaid, upon Reynolds, for the opposite courses which he pursued at different periods of his life, it cannot be required of me that I should dwell in this place. All persons, however, may rejoice that his writings still remain as a storehouse, from which may be drawn some of the richest treasures of piety, learning, and eloquence, which are to be found in the whole compass of English literature; and, for my own part, it has been a satisfaction to find, in the course of my present enquiries, that one, who has expounded so well the great doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, should have spoken a word of counsel to those, his countrymen, who, in the face of many difficulties and perils, were striving to establish upon secure grounds our relations with the East. This feeling of satisfaction is increased, when I find, upon further examination, that this act of Reynolds was only one of many of a similar nature in which some of those, whom the Church of England holds in most grateful memory, were then engaged; and that this co-operation of Reynolds was acknowledged by them in terms of hearty and affectionate good-will. Thus,

¹³¹ Reynolds's Life, ut sup. Bishop, Nov. 28, 1660; and died, xlviii. lxxv. He was appointed July 28, 1676.

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Evelyn's
notice of it.

Evelyn, who states in his Diary, Nov. 27, 1657, that he had taken the oath at the East India House, and subscribed £500, informs us also, in his entry of the preceding day, that 'Wednesday was fix'd on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good successe;' and then adds the following notice of the Sermon to which I have just referred: '2 Dec. Dr. Raynolds (since Bishop of Norwich) preach'd before y^e company at St. Andrew Undershaft, on 13 Nehemiah v. 31, shewing by the example of Nehemiah all the perfections of a trusty person in publique affaires, with many good precepts apposite to y^e occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the company and y^e undertaking ¹²².'

THE
LEVANT
COMPANY.

In tracing thus the evidences of Christian sympathy and zeal which England manifested, as she was extending the circle of her commerce, we find them no where exhibited more frequently or more distinctly than in those outskirts of the boundaries of Europe, through which she had obtained her chief

¹²² Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 125, 126. It should be borne in mind, as a singular instance of the difficulties of that time, that, on the next Christmas Day, only three weeks after the delivery of Reynolds's Sermon, Evelyn and his wife, and others whom he names, whilst receiving the Holy Communion in Exeter Chapel, were surrounded by soldiers who had entered, and held their muskets against them, as if they would have

shot them in that act of blessed worship. The communicants were afterwards subjected to interrogatories from officers who came for that purpose from Whitehall; and some were imprisoned. Evelyn describes these officers as 'men of high sight and above ordinances, and who spake spiteful things of our Lord's nativity;' and records his thankfulness that he was permitted to reach home late the next day. Ibid.

information respecting the treasures of India,—I mean the region assigned to the Levant, or Turkey, Company. I have already adverted to the circumstances which led to the formation of this Company in the reign of Elizabeth; and have shown, that, through its agency, the commencement of an overland trade with India had been attempted, towards the end of the sixteenth century, by merchants who had gone from Aleppo to Bagdad, and thence to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf; after which, they proceeded to Goa, and thence extended their visits as far as Agra, Patna, Pegu, Malacca, Ceylon, and the coast of Malabar¹²³. Upon their return, by reason of the information which they brought with them, a fresh impulse had been given to the exertions and enterprises of the Levant Company. But Aleppo, the centre of their trade, was soon to be associated, in the minds of Englishmen, with other scenes than those which the merchant only had witnessed, whilst he was piling up in its warehouses, his silks, and ivory, and gems, and gold, and silver; or those which had been present to the poet's mind, when he described

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' The weird sisters, hand in hand,
Posters of the sea and land,'

hastening to overwhelm the poor sailor, bound for that Syrian port, whose wife had angered them¹²⁴. The Christian minister was now to be seen mingling

¹²³ Vol. i. c. vi. in loc.

¹²⁴ Shakspeare's *Macbeth*, Act I. scene 3.

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amid the busy population of Aleppo, learning the languages and customs of its various tribes, that thence he might derive fresh light to illustrate the Scriptures of Eternal Truth; and also, in his turn, delivering unto them, in words, and yet more powerfully, in his blameless life and conversation, the testimony which those Scriptures revealed. His brethren at home, too, were likewise to be seen strengthening his hands, by prayer, and kindly counsel, and by maintaining affectionate intercourse with the merchants and mariners who embarked from England for the harbours of the Levant.

Pocock, the
Orientalist,
their Chap-
lain, 1629.

Instances of the latter class will be given in another chapter. At present, I shall direct the reader's attention chiefly to the services rendered by the ministers of our Church, who were sent out to Aleppo as Chaplains to the Levant Company. From the earliest period, indeed, of establishing their factories on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Company recognized and fulfilled the duty of securing to every one in their employment the benefit of the ordinances of the Church; and some of their chief merchants were very zealous in supplying our best theologians at home with those aids towards the elucidation of the Scriptures, which their residence in the East placed at their disposal. Among these, I may mention particularly Mr. Thomas Davis, Superintendent of the Factory at Aleppo, who appears to have been a constant correspondent of Archbishop Usher, upon subjects of sacred litera-

ture, and to have supplied him with very valuable information¹³⁵. An ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, explaining and extending the privileges of the Levant Company, was passed, March 9, 1643. But, long before that period, and from the commencement of Charles the First's reign, the Levant Company had been careful to send out, as their Chaplains, some of our ablest and most devoted Clergy. The first of these, of whom I have been able to gain any intelligence, was Mr. Charles Robson, of Queen's College, Oxford¹³⁶. His immediate, and most distinguished, successor was Edward Pocock, whose memory must ever be cherished with gratitude by the whole Church. Pocock was appointed upon Robson's return, in 1629. He was then twenty-five years old; having been elected, in his seventeenth year, from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, to a scholarship at Corpus; and having entered, even at that early age, upon that diligent and successful study of the Oriental languages, for which he afterwards became so celebrated. His first work had been that of preparing for the press those parts of the Syriac Version of the New Testament which had not yet been published, namely, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude; and his desire to cultivate still further the knowledge of that and other languages of the East, and to make all his enquiries sub-

¹³⁵ Several of his letters are given in Parr's Collection of Archbishop Usher's Correspondence.

¹³⁶ A small tract written by him in 1628 is still extant, entitled 'News from Aleppo.'

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sidiary to the elucidation of Holy Scripture, was one of the chief motives which led him, soon after he had been admitted into Holy Orders, to seek the office which he now received. The position which Laud occupied, at that time, as Bishop of London, made it necessary that the nomination of any one to such an office should emanate from him¹³⁷; and, accordingly, he nominated Pocock. But it appears, from a letter written to Pocock by that prelate, two years afterwards, that Laud had no other knowledge of him than that of the public reputation which he had already acquired in the University of Oxford. Upon Pocock's arrival at Aleppo, his first work was to apply himself to the sacred duties of his office; and this he did with strictest fidelity and holiest zeal; being, as his biographer tells us, 'diligent in preaching, exhorting his countrymen in a plain, but very convincing way, to piety, temperance, justice, and love, and all those Christian virtues or graces which would both secure to them the favour and protection of the Almighty, and also adorn their conversation, rendering it comely in the sight of an unbelieving nation. And what he laboured to persuade others to, he duly practised himself; proposing to his hearers, in his own regular and unspotted life, a bright example of the holiness he recommended.' Again, upon the breaking out of the plague, in 1634, when it raged so furiously in Aleppo, that many of the merchants fled for safety to the mountains, he

¹³⁷ See p. 34.

relates that Pocock 'had that holy confidence in the providence of God, and that readiness to meet His good pleasure, whatever it should be, that though he visited them that were in the country, he, for the most part, continued to assist and comfort those who had shut up themselves in the city'¹³⁸.

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Meanwhile his studies in the Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic languages, and, more than all, the Arabic, were prosecuted with extraordinary success; and he was careful also, as opportunity offered, to collect such ancient Greek coins and Oriental manuscripts as might enrich the treasures of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. To this latter object, his attention had been directed by Laud, who was at that time Chancellor of the University; and, soon afterwards, that prelate signified to Pocock his intention of establishing, at Oxford, a Professorship for the study of Arabic, and of naming him as the fittest person to commence its duties.

The offer was thankfully accepted; and, in 1636, Pocock returned to England, not only amid the sincere regrets of his own countrymen at Aleppo, whose best affections he had gained, but also of many of the Mahometans, and especially those who had assisted him in his Oriental studies¹³⁹. Upon his arrival in Oxford, he entered upon his new office,

Appointed
Laudian
Professor
of Arabic,
1636.

¹³⁸ Twells's Life of Pocock, 2—
16.

¹³⁹ 'Your old scheich, who died several years since,' writes Mr. Huntington (his successor in the Chaplaincy at Aleppo) to Pocock, in 1670, 'was always mindful of

you, and expressed your name with his last breath. He was still telling the opinion he had of you, that you were a right honest man; and that he did not doubt but to meet you in paradise, under the banner of our Jesus.' Ibid. 30.

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Visits Con-
stantinople.

with all the energy and singleness of mind which marked his character; but, in the following year, at the request of Laud, left England once more for Constantinople, for the purpose of comparing and collecting Greek and Oriental manuscripts. In the exercise of this office, he made many valuable additions to the treasures of Biblical literature, obtaining, for instance, through the help of his friends at Aleppo, the Persian Gospels, which were afterwards so useful in the edition of the English Polyglot Bible. In several quarters, indeed, his enquiries proved fruitless; and the barbarous murder of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, from whom he had received much kindness, hindered him from gaining access to one of the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, which Archbishop Usher, through Laud, had requested him to obtain. But, as long as he remained in the East, his labours were unremitting; his expenses too, from first to last, were borne chiefly by himself; and upon his return, in 1640, through Europe, he still strove to make his visits in every place instrumental in effecting the great and permanent works of usefulness which he had always in view. His conference at Paris with Gabriel Sionita, the celebrated Maronite, and with Grotius, then ambassador at the Court of France, may be cited as instances of this¹⁴⁰.

Returns to
England,
1640-1.

Upon the return of Pocock to England, early in 1640-1, he sought out Laud, who had then been for

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 76—79.

some weeks committed a prisoner to the Tower. The account given of their interview is deeply affecting; and in no part more so, than in that which relates the steady refusal of the Archbishop to avail himself of the proposal which Pocock then urged upon him, at the request of Grotius, that he should effect an escape out of that place of his imprisonment¹⁴¹. The remembrance of his own successful escape from imprisonment had, doubtless, made Grotius more anxious that Laud should try the experiment; but, in the words quoted below, he expressed his steady determination to reject all such proposals; and Pocock left him, with a heavy heart, for Oxford, that he might resume his duties as Arabic Professor.

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The time was not favourable for the performance of such duties; for the horrors of Civil War were fast gathering in and around that city, and its colleges and streets were disturbed by the din of arms.

His duties.

¹⁴¹ 'I am obliged,' said Laud, 'to my good friend, Hugo Grotius, for the care he has thus expressed for my safety; but I can by no means be persuaded to comply with the counsel he hath given me. An escape, indeed, is feasible enough; yea, 'tis, I believe, the very thing which my enemies desire; for every day an opportunity for it is presented to me, a passage being left free, in all likelihood, for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take the advantage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me, in what they appear to long for; I am almost seventy years old, and shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and shame of flying? And were I willing to be gone,

whither should I fly? Should I go into France or any other Popish country, it would be to give some seeming ground to that charge of Popery, they have endeavoured, with so much industry, and so little reason, to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose myself to the insults of those sectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pull me by the beard. No, I am resolved not to think of flight; but, continuing where I am, patiently to expect and bear what a good and wise Providence hath provided for me, of what kind soever it shall be.' Ib. 84, 85.

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Even in that fearful crisis, a common interest in the same literary pursuits led to an acquaintance between Pocock and the learned Selden;—a circumstance which, from Selden's influence with the Parliament, proved afterwards of essential service to Pocock¹⁴³;—and, in 1643, he was presented to the Rectory of Childrey, Berkshire, by the College of which he was a Fellow¹⁴³. The proximity of his Living to Oxford, made its tenure compatible with his avocations as Professor; and its duties were discharged with a faithfulness and affectionate simplicity, which showed Pocock not less successful as a Parish Priest, than he had been hitherto known to be as a scholar¹⁴⁴.

His trials.

But to discharge the office of Parish Priest, in that day, in any other mode than that prescribed by Presbyterian tyrants, was, of course, to bring down upon Pocock's head the vials of their wrath; and, accordingly, all that machinery of iniquitous oppression, which the Sequestrators and Visitors, acting under the authority of the Long Parliament, knew so well how to manage, was soon brought to bear against him, not only with respect to his Living, but also his Pro-

¹⁴³ Among the friends of Pocock, John Greaves, who was at one time Astronomy Professor at Oxford, must always be reckoned the most conspicuous. There are few instances, I believe, on record, in which more devoted and lasting affection has been manifested, than between these two men. *Ib.* 123.

¹⁴³ His marriage with Mary, the daughter of Thomas Burdett, took place in 1646. *Ib.* 98.

¹⁴⁴ The absence of all parade of learning in his Sermons was such, that some of his Parishioners looked down upon him as utterly devoid of it; and one of his Oxford friends, passing through Childrey, and asking who was their minister, and how they liked him? received this answer, 'Our parson is one Mr. Pocock, a plain, honest man; but, master, he is no Latiner.' *Ib.* 94.

fessorship. In the case of the latter, indeed, the earnest representations of Selden succeeded in effecting the restitution of his salary, after he had been deprived of it for three years. And, more than this: although, by absenting himself from Oxford, he had contrived to avoid taking the Solemn League and Covenant, which the Visitors sought to impose, he was, nevertheless, appointed by the committee associated with them,—and, again, through Selden's influence,—to succeed to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in the University, when it became vacant by the death of Morris, in 1648. And it is worthy of remark, that, in making this appointment, the officers of Parliament only did that which the King himself would have done, if, from his imprisonment at the Isle of Wight, he could have fully ratified all his wishes: for he had already nominated Pocock to succeed to the office, upon the recommendation of Sheldon and Hammond¹⁴⁵. The particular Canonry of Christ Church, indeed, which is annexed to the Hebrew Professorship, was taken away from it, and Pocock was presented to another; an act, against which he felt it his duty publicly to protest¹⁴⁶; although he knew well the hostility from the Parliamentary Visitors to which he thereby exposed himself. Selden indeed advised him, 'to keep out of the reach of their quarter-staff, which would,' he said, 'strike down all before it; and, against which there was no ward, but suffering or complying.' But Pocock was content to brave all dangers. They

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¹⁴⁵ *Ib.* 106—108.

¹⁴⁶ *Ib.* 116—119.

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soon came: and, in 1650, not having taken and subscribed the Engagement, whereby every one was required to promise that he would be true and faithful to the government then established upon the ruins of the throne and altar, he was turned out of his Canonry of Christ Church; and Peter French, who had married a sister of Oliver Cromwell, was appointed in his room¹⁴⁷. A vote was passed also, to eject him from his Professorship of Arabic; but this was not carried into effect, simply because no one fit for the appointment could be found; and the urgent petition therefore of the University, that Pocock should be allowed to retain it, was granted. But, even then, he was not suffered to pursue his course undisturbed; for, under the provisions of an Act, passed in 1654, for ejecting ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, and negligent ministers, the attempt was speedily made to expel him from his Living. The charges of scandal brought against him, in the first instance, although prosecuted for many months with most malignant zeal, could not be sustained; upon which, the commissioners endeavoured to bring against him others, accusing him of ignorance and insufficiency; and, from the disgrace which such a proceeding would have entailed upon them, it must be recorded, to the honour of Owen, then Dean of Christ Church, that he, by his manly and indignant remonstrances, preserved the commissioners¹⁴⁸. He declared that he could not be a party

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 128—133.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. 152—176.

I thank- fully acknowledge it also, not less to the honour of Howe, that he

to 'turning out a man for insufficiency, whom all the learned, not of England, but of all Europe, so justly admired for his vast knowledge and extraordinary accomplishments.' And so Pocock was permitted to retain his Living; requiting with good the Parishioners who had sought to do him evil; and, in order to guard them from the resentment of others, not allowing even the papers of their depositions against him to be seen by any of his family or friends, as long as he lived ¹⁴⁹.

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The labours, which Pocock, and others united with him in the same or in kindred pursuits, carried on in his later days ¹⁵⁰, will be adverted to again hereafter; but I may be permitted here to anticipate the notice of some of them, because they are connected with those in which he was engaged during the present period, and will also explain the reason why I have directed the reader's attention at such

The benefit
of his and
kindred
labours.

endeavoured to mitigate, wheresoever he could, the insolence and injustice of the Independent Triers. Calamy relates the following instance of it in the case of Fuller, the historian, who could not forbear the indulgence of his accustomed wit, even in his danger. 'That gentleman,' says Calamy, 'who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Triers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr. Howe, when he applied to him for advice. Sir, said he, you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait, I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through. He freely gave

him his advice, and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question, Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart? he gave this in for answer, That he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied, as indeed they well might.' Howe's Life, prefixed to his Works, p. v.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 347.

¹⁵⁰ He died in 1691, in his 87th year, and conducted his family devotions, as he had always been accustomed to do, according to the prayers of our Church, even the night before his death. Ibid. 342.

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length to the story of his life. Foremost among these labours was the share which he had in the preparation of that noble work, the Polyglot Bible, edited by Brian Walton. That unwearied student, having projected his enterprise at a time when he was dispossessed of all his preferments, soon invited another to be his companion in the same work, who was his companion also in suffering, and whose name is ever dear to all true churchmen,—Herbert Thorndike. They sought for the counsel of those Bishops who were still living, deprived, indeed, of their property and external authority, but possessing still that paternal influence over the affections and judgment of others, of which no oppressor could ever rob them. With their concurrence and hearty support, proposals for subscriptions to meet the expenses of the publication were forthwith issued, and favourably received. The Council of State, to their honour, encouraged the undertaking; and, at the recommendation of Cromwell, gave orders that all the paper required for the use of the first edition should be imported duty free¹⁵¹. In 1653, the printing of

¹⁵¹ Walton once entertained the hope that the Council of State would have voted a thousand pounds in aid of the work; but Pocock's biographer gives good reasons for believing that this was never done. *Ibid.* 209. The reader needs scarcely to be reminded of the reproaches cast upon Walton, for having written one Dedication to Cromwell, and another to Charles after the Restoration; and of the distinction between the republican and loyal copies, as they

are called. But those who repeat such charges, have forgotten the sufferings which Walton endured for his steadfast adherence to the Church in the time of Charles the First, his forced subjection to the usurped authority of Cromwell, and the eagerness with which he welcomed the restoration of the house of Stuart. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part ii. 53, 54. Todd's account of this Dedication, in his *Memoirs of Walton*, is worth consulting, i. 81—85. Walton was

this vast work was begun, and, towards the close of 1657, completed. Soon after its publication, Owen, on the part of the Independents, attempted to lift up the voice of censure against it; and the Papal interdict classed it in the number of books forbidden to be read¹⁵². The first of these assaults was speedily and triumphantly repulsed by Walton, as Owen's biographer himself admits¹⁵³; and the record of the second remains to this day, to show that its wickedness has only been equalled by its impotency. That such attacks should have been made, at the same time, from such opposite quarters, is a curious instance of the manner in which extremes sometimes meet.

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Of the labours of other contributors to the Polyglot Bible,—among the foremost of whom must be ranked Archbishop Usher,—I have not room here to speak as I could have wished to do. I will only observe, therefore, that to Pocock was entrusted, as the reader will easily anticipate, the execution of some of the most important labours connected with the Arabic Version; and, from his private collection, treasures were obtained, which no other library could furnish, namely, a manuscript (to which I have already referred) of the Gospels in Persian, a Syriac manuscript of the Old Testament, two other manu-

consecrated to the see of Chester in 1660; and died in the year following.

¹⁵² See Index Libb. Prohibit. Alexand. vii. Pontif. Max. &c. in loc.

¹⁵³ Orme's Life of Owen, 209. Walton's Vindication has been reprinted in the Second Volume

of the Memoirs, above referred to, by the late Archdeacon Todd. In that work, and in Twells' Life of Pocock, 193—220, the reader will find all the information he can desire, concerning the whole work of the Polyglot Bible, and its contributors.

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scripts of the Psalms in the same language, and an Æthiopic manuscript of the Psalter¹⁵⁴. He would have undertaken a still larger portion of the work; had not his time been pre-occupied with others of a similar nature, which Selden had already urged upon him. He completed also, towards the end of the Protectorate, a work which had long engaged his thoughts, namely, an Arabic Version of Grotius' Treatise concerning the truth of the Christian religion; making such alterations of it in the preface, and in the sections relating to Mahometanism, as seemed to him desirable; and to which he had already obtained the consent of Grotius, during his visit to him at Paris. This Version would have been sooner published, had Pocock possessed the means of defraying the expense; for the sole motive prompting him to it, was his desire to enlighten those inhabitants of the Syrian border, among whom his duties in earlier life had placed him. The whole burden of the expense was at length cheerfully borne by one, whose spirit was never weary in devising, nor his hand in executing, "liberal things,"—the Honourable Robert Boyle¹⁵⁵.

Soon after the Restoration, Pocock was reinstated in that preferment at Christ Church, of which he had been for many years deprived; and there, he was still found, prosecuting with redoubled zeal his

¹⁵⁴ Pocock's Life, ut sup. 206—208.

¹⁵⁵ Boyle undertook, about the same time, the chief cost of reprinting the Irish New Testament;

and also a Turkish translation of the New Testament, and Catechism, which had been made by Mr. William Seaman. Ibid. 242.

varied studies, and directing them all to one end, the support and extension of Christian truth. For the reason which I have just mentioned above, I will advert to some of these. I pass over the general contributions which he gave to the great work of Biblical interpretation, by his commentaries on four of the minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Micah, and Malachi, and the fresh aids which he was constantly supplying towards the study of Arabic literature¹⁵⁶; because the notice of them belongs more properly to the general history of our Church, than to that department of it with which I am now concerned. I will here mention only, first, the assistance which he cheerfully rendered to Edmund Castell, in the completion of his *Lexicon for the Polyglot Bible*; and, secondly, his efforts to communicate to the East the blessings of Christian truth, and the ordinances of our Church. The work in which he assisted Castell, brought poverty and distress upon its author, but remains, and will, to the end of time, remain, a noble monument of varied learning and unwearied industry. There were other companions, indeed, of Castell in that work, as he acknowledges in his preface; Murray, for example, who helped him in the Arabic department, Beveridge (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) in the Syriac, Wansleb in the Æthiopic, and, more than all, the celebrated Lightfoot. But, in the end, Castell was left alone; his patrimony, once sufficient for his wants, exhausted; the energies of his body and mind broken down; and blindness stealing upon him;

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 247—341.

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without even an amanuensis, or corrector of the press, to help him ¹⁵⁷. That Pocock should have done what he could to cheer poor Castell, amidst his heavy toil, is only another evidence of the generous and affectionate spirit which, throughout his long and laborious life, never ceased to distinguish him.

But Syria was still the region to which Pocock's attention was turned, most frequently and anxiously, even to the end; and this was proved by his other works, which I have expressed my intention here to notice. About ten years after the Restoration, he sent out to Huntington, his friend and successor in the Chaplaincy at Aleppo, copies of our Church Catechism, which he had translated into Arabic, and published for the use of young Christians in the East ¹⁵⁸. Soon afterwards, at Huntington's request, Pocock published, and sent out to him, an Arabic translation which he had made of the daily Morning and Evening Prayers in our Prayer Book, the Order of Administering Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; and also the doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the arguments of our Homilies ¹⁵⁹. Thus, in every way which

¹⁵⁷ There are few compositions of the kind on record more affecting, than parts of Castell's Latin Preface. The only passage which can be compared with them, is the well-known conclusion of Johnson's Preface to his Dictionary.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 288.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 296—298. Huntington offered to defray part of the expense of this publication; but

the University of Oxford most properly bore the whole charges. In a letter of Huntington to Pocock, May, 1675, he says, in language which emphatically shows his earnest feeling upon the subject, 'I find the University envied me the honour of being a benefactor to so good a cause.—However, I'll recover what I can by the religious distribution of the

could either conduce to the spread of Christianity in Eastern climes, by making known to their inhabitants in their own tongues, the Gospel of Christ; or secure the correct reading of the texts both of the Old and New Testament, and assist the right interpretation thereof, by bringing home to this country the literary treasures of the East, Pocock was ever forward, ever successful. All the increased facilities of intercourse, which arose between England and other countries in that region, were applied by this faithful and learned man mainly to this one great end. For the attainment of it, he watched and prayed with a stedfastness which knew no intermission. We have seen that he first reached forward to this mark, whilst the freshness of his early manhood was upon him, and the ancient dignities of the Universities, and Church, and Throne, appeared strong in his native land; that he turned not away from contemplating it, when, at a maturer age, he returned to that land, and saw her shorn of all those dignities; and that he still remembered it, still directed his earnest, affectionate gaze towards it, still laboured for it, although the abatement of "his natural force," and the prospect of ease under the sceptre of the restored king, might have tempted him to relax. Nor was his a solitary light. We have seen further, that it kindled the same pure flame in the hearts of others; and was fed, in its turn, by theirs. And so the proof was exhibited to the world, that, with the

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books.' Huntington, upon his re- appointed Provost of Trinity Col-
turn from Aleppo, in 1683, was lege, Dublin. Ib. 326.

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Notice of
Isaac Basire.

We may trace the course of such exertions, not only in the persons of Pocock and his associates, to whom a field of interesting labour had, in the first instance, been opened through his connexion with the Levant Company; but also in the insulated efforts of some of our individual Clergy, in the most trying hour of their own persecution. The most distinguished of these was Isaac Basire, who had been Chaplain to Charles the First, and also to Bishop Morton, by whom, when presiding over the see of Lichfield, he had been ordained; and from whom, when translated to Durham, he had received, first, the Rectory of Egglecliffe, and afterwards, in succession, a Prebendal Stall in the Cathedral, the Rectory of Stanhope, and the Archdeaconry of Northumberland¹⁶⁰. He was deprived of all his preferments by the Civil War; and, having been an eye-witness of some of the worst horrors of such war, at the sieges of Oxford, and Carlisle, and in Stockton Castle, was speedily made to feel its privations in another form, when he and his wife and children were cast out beggars from their home. The miserable compensation of a fifth part of their property

¹⁶⁰ Life of Bishop Morton, by R. B., p. 85.

which, by a decree of Parliament, November 11, 1647, was ordered to be paid as a maintenance to the families of the sequestered Clergy, was still further reduced, and, in most instances, indeed, altogether withheld, through the shuffling evasions of those who had grasped the plunder. For 'covetousnesse,' to use the words of Fuller in describing these evasions, 'will wriggle itself out at a small hole.' And hence the poor wives of the Clergy who had been ejected, were not only vexed 'with the tedious attendance to get orders on orders,' but, 'as one truly and sadly said, the fifts are even paid at sixes and sevens'¹⁶¹. In the case of Basire, indeed, some assistance may possibly have been hoped for from the relations of his wife, who had been a Miss Corbett, of Shropshire; but the letters which she wrote to him are still extant, to show the heavy burden by which she and her children were oppressed¹⁶². Basire himself found refuge, for a short time, in his native city of Rouen, whither he had fled in 1647, and supported himself by tuition¹⁶³. Among his pupils was the son of Lady Lambton, with whom he then formed a friendship which lasted through later years. Towards the end of 1648, he set out with his pupils upon a tour into Italy and other parts of

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¹⁶¹ Fuller's History of the Church, xi. 230. Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part i. p. 102, remarks upon this saying, that it was 'true only in the proverbial, and not in the literal sense;—bad as that would have been,—and shows, that, in those very few instances

where he finds them paid, 'it was for the most part after the rate of tens and twelves.'

¹⁶² See the *Correspondence and Life of Basire*, lately published, by Mr. Darnell, his successor in the Rectory of Stanhope.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* 59.

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Europe; and when they, in course of time, left him to return home, he still strove, as he best could, amid all the anxieties and sufferings of his solitary state, to "do the work of an evangelist¹⁶⁴." His feelings upon this subject are well described in the letters to his wife, contained in the correspondence to which I have adverted above. But, for the details of what he actually did in furtherance of this end, we must turn to a letter written by him from Pera, near Constantinople, in 1653, to Sir Richard Brown, the English Ambassador at Paris, 'relating his travels and endeavours to propagate the knowledge and discipline established in the Britannick Church, among the Greeks, Arabians, &c.¹⁶⁵ Basire there informs us that he had been for some time actively employed in the Island of Zante, in communicating to the Greeks the substance of the Catholic doctrine of our Church, through the medium of a Greek translation of our Catechism; which service had drawn upon him the enmity of the Latins. But, nothing daunted by such opposition, he thence proceeded to the Morea, where the Metropolitan of Achaia persuaded him to preach twice, at a meeting of some of his Bishops and Clergy. His next visits were to Apulia, Naples, and Sicily,

¹⁶⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 5.

¹⁶⁵ Basire's Correspondence, ut sup. 115—120. Sir Richard Brown, or Browne, to whom this letter was written, was father-in-law of Evelyn, who gives several instances of his zeal and affection for our Church, in her day of adversity; stating that the Bishops, and Doc-

tors, and others, who found an asylum in his house and family at Paris, 'in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) us'd to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's Chappell, and assembly there.' *Memoirs*, iii. 75.

where he describes himself as officiating for some weeks on board ship in the port of Messina, during the absence of the Chaplain, Mr. Duncan. He then embarked for Syria; and, at Aleppo, had frequent interviews with the Patriarch of Antioch, and left with him an Arabic translation of our Catechism. Jerusalem was the next scene of his many and earnest conferences, both with the Greek and Latin Clergy, upon the points of difference between their Churches and our own; and here, as elsewhere, he vindicated, with zeal and openness, the distinctive privileges of our own Church, avowedly declaring himself one of her ordained priests, even in the lowest hour of her depression. Returning from Jerusalem to Aleppo, he went to Mesopotamia, with the view of preparing the way for the distribution of Turkish copies of our Catechism among her Bishops, who were mostly Armenian. In all these arduous and long journeys, Basire travelled alone; and contrived to make his way by the help of the Arabic language, which he had learnt at Aleppo, and by his knowledge of medicine, which he had acquired by a residence at Padua. Upon arriving at Pera, the French Protestants invited him to officiate among them, which he agreed to do, upon the condition that he was to conduct the Divine Service according to our Liturgy. He had no French copy with him; and, having made a translation at the cost of no little labour to himself, continued for some time thus to officiate, with the express consent of the French ambassador, and under the roof and pro-

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tection of the English. He availed himself, during the same period, of every legitimate opportunity to promote that reformation of the grosser errors of the Greek Church, which might lead to her communion with others; and, for that purpose, formed a design, which, however, he was not able to accomplish, of visiting the Coptic Churches, and conferring with the Patriarch of Alexandria. He thus concludes his letter to Sir Richard Brown: 'I should now long for a comfortable post-liminium to my family: but yet I am resolved rather intermori in these toylesome ecclesiastical peregrinations, than to decline the least on either hand from my religion or allegiance; And, oh! that it were with our Church, as whilome, when God Almighty did shine upon our wayes, and upheld both the Staves thereof, Beauty and Bands: but patience: Hoc erat in votis; and to recover both shall be the prayer and endeavour of yours,' &c.

It is needless to say more in this place of the faithful labours of Basire. I will add only, as I have done in the case of Reynolds, the terms in which Evelyn spoke of him, after his return to England. The following entry occurs in his Diary, October 10, 1661: 'In the afternoone preach'd at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great travailler, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting y^e Church of England in divers parts of y^e Levant and Asia. He show'd that y^e Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very

land of Goshen ¹⁶⁶ Evelyn met him again, Nov. 29, 1662, and writes: 'I went to Court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basiers, one of his Ma^y's chaplains, the greate traveller, who showed me the syngraphs and original subscriptions of divers eastern patriarchs and Asian churches to our confession ¹⁶⁷.'

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It is our duty affectionately to remember the faithful efforts which, under circumstances so adverse, were made for the spiritual welfare of the East, by such men as Pocock and Basire; and, possessing as we do, enlarged facilities for the same work, to apply them, right manfully, to the prosecution of it. We know that like exertions, made in our own day, in countries further eastward, and by some who have neither walked "by the same rule," nor minded "the same thing ¹⁶⁸" with ourselves, have received from our countrymen the praises which they have justly earned. And, if I am permitted in the sequel of this work to notice them more particularly, I trust that I shall, with no niggard or reluctant spirit, acknowledge the pious labours of Carey, of Marshman, and of Morrison. Meanwhile, let not the earlier deeds of our own fathers and brethren in the faith be forgotten by the men of this generation. Rather let them be received as sure signs to show, that, throughout all the changes of external vicissi-

Concluding
reflections.

¹⁶⁶ Evelyn's Memoirs, ii. 181.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 202.

¹⁶⁸ Phil. iii. 16.

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 bers, has never forfeited her authority as 'a witness
 and a keeper of Holy Writ¹⁶⁹.' "For Zion's sake,"
 therefore, let us "not hold" our "peace, and for
 Jerusalem's sake" let us "not rest, until the righte-
 ousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salva-
 tion thereof as a lamp that burneth. And the
 Gentiles shall see" her "righteousness, and all kings"
 her "glory¹⁷⁰."

¹⁶⁹ Art. XX.

¹⁷⁰ Is. lxii. 1, 2.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES, FROM THE BEGINNING
OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THAT
OF CHARLES THE SECOND.

A. D. 1625—1660-1.

The New England Council grants Patents to Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in 1627-9, and surrenders its Charter to the Crown in 1635—Remarks on these Patents—New Hampshire annexed to Massachusetts in 1641—Maine granted to Sir F. Gorges by Charles, in 1639—Remarks thereon—Maine annexed to Massachusetts in 1651—Summary of the subsequent history of New Hampshire and Maine—Progress of the Colony of Massachusetts—Its Laws—Rules of church-membership—Lechford's 'Plain Dealing'—Roger Williams—Rhode Island—Antinomians—Connecticut—New Haven—The Pequod War—Colonies of New England united in 1643—Harvard College—Education—Hugh Peters—Bishop Lake—Conduct of New England emigrants towards the Indians—Eliot, 'the apostle of the Indians'—Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, established in 1649—Severities of New England rule—Address to Charles the Second—Relations with European powers in North America during this period.

I NOW return to take a connected survey of the New
ENGLAND Colonies, under which title are included all
those planted in the parts of North America, lying
between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of
latitude, and assigned by James the First, in 1606,
to the North Virginia, or Plymouth, Company. The

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abortive efforts made by different adventurers, under the authority of the Company, from that time to the year 1620; the new, but useless, Charter granted in that year, assigning the limits of the territory from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degrees of latitude; the settlement commenced, without their authority, in the same year, at Plymouth, in the Bay of Massachusetts, by Puritan emigrants from Leyden; the causes which compelled the Company at home, to acquiesce in a proceeding which was a direct infringement of their own rights; the gradual extension of the New Plymouth Colony; the intolerant spirit of those who followed them; and the unsuccessful attempt made, in 1623, by Robert Gorges, and Morrell,—the latter of whom was a clergyman of our Church,—to plant a settlement in another part of the same Bay, by virtue of a Patent granted to Gorges for that purpose, have all been described in a former part of this work ¹.

The New ENGLAND Council grants Patents to Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in 1627-9, and surrenders its Charter to the Crown in 1635.

In the eleventh year of Charles the First, 1635, the Council of New England terminated its existence by the voluntary surrender of its Charter to the Crown. But, before this was done, two other Patents had been granted under its authority for the settlement of other portions of the territory; the first, being that of Massachusetts Bay, to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, in 1627-8²; and the second, that of New Hampshire, given in the following

¹ Vol. i. c. xii. in loc.

² Neal's History of New England, i. 122.

year, to Captain John Mason³, who had formerly been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland⁴. CHAP.
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A body of planters and servants, under the command of John Endicot, soon set out to establish the Colony designed by the first of these Patents; and Salem, the first permanent town of Massachusetts, was founded by them in September, 1628⁵. But some of the parties, who were persuaded to join the undertaking, not satisfied with the powers conferred upon them under their Patent, succeeded in obtaining, during the next year, another from the Crown confirming it; and it is important to observe here its chief provisions. After reciting the boundaries of the new territory,—which, in length, extended to a line three miles south of Charles River, and to the same distance north of the River Merrimack; and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the South Sea;—and stating that it was to be held by the grantees, and by their heirs and assigns, in free and common socage of the manor of East Greenwich, for which was to be paid, in lieu of all services, a fifth of the gold and silver found in the country:—it declares

³ Hazard, i. 289—293.

⁴ Ibid. 387. I may here take the opportunity of informing the reader that I make no further mention of Newfoundland in this Volume, because I have, by anticipation, given a summary of its history, towards the end of the eleventh chapter in my former Volume. The only document, connected with Newfoundland at this period, which I have since met with, is a Commission for its government granted by Charles the

First, in 1633; and among various directions which it contains for the regulation of the vessels, &c. concerned in the fishery, the following notice occurs: 'That upon the Sundayes the Company assemble in meet places, and haue diuine Seruice to bee said by some of the Masters of the Shippes, or some others, which prayers shall bee such as are in the Booke of Common Prayer.'

⁵ Chalmers, 136.

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the grantees to be a body corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, and nominates Matthew Cradock to be the first governor. It next sets forth the offices and number of those in whom the executive power of the corporation was to be vested; prescribing the manner in which their business was to be conducted; and authorizing them to minister the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to all persons who should pass into their plantation, and to make all necessary ordinances for its government, but *'soe as such Lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and Statuts of this our Realme of England.'* It also grants permission to the Governor and Company to transport to New England all subjects of the King who should be willing to accompany them, or strangers who should be ready to live under his allegiance;—the only exception being those who might be *'by especiall name restrayned.'* A remission of certain taxes for a limited period is further granted, as an encouragement to the emigrants, and finally, the principal end, for which, in the *'Royall intencon and the Adventurers free Profession,'* the Plantation was to be made, is thus described; that, *'our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderly Conversacon maie wynn and incite the Natives of the Country, to the Knowledg and Obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of mankinde, and the Christian Fayth ⁶.'*

⁶ Hazard, 239—255; Chalmers, 137—139.

I have placed these provisions of the Massachusetts Bay Charter before the reader, in order that he may see the cautious spirit in which it was framed. So far from granting any new privilege, it plainly and positively restricted even some of those which former emigrants had, without due authority, ventured to exercise. Neal and other historians of New England, indeed, have said, that 'free liberty of conscience was granted' in this Patent 'to all that should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way'.⁷ But no such permission can be found in any part of it. On the contrary, it required that no law or ordinance should be passed by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay repugnant to those which existed in the realm of England; and, further, that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance should be administered to every person who came into the Colony. It is evident, therefore, as Judge Story has truly remarked, that the King, by granting a Charter in such terms, exhibited 'a fixed determination to adhere to the severe maxims of conformity so characteristic of his reign.' If it be asked, in what way were the provisions of a Charter, framed with such intent, observed by those who had been so eager to obtain it? the only answer which can be returned, is one of which the truth is indeed abundantly established by all New England historians, but which they are, for the most part, reluctant formally to avow, namely,

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Remarks
on these
Patents.

⁷ Neal's New England, i. 124.

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that, from the outset, these provisions were deliberately and systematically set at nought. Judge Story is one of the few American writers who distinctly admit this to have been the fact. In the sentence immediately following that which I have quoted, and in which he describes the Charter as expressly framed for the purpose of keeping up a conformity between the Colony of Massachusetts Bay and England, he quietly remarks, 'The first emigrants however paid no attention to this circumstance; and the very first Church planted by them was independent in all its forms, and repudiated every connexion with Episcopacy or Liturgy⁸.' With what suddenness and completeness this repudiation was made, has been already shown, by anticipation, in the first Volume⁹, where we saw that two members of the Colonial Council who were brothers, John and Samuel Browne, were expelled the Colony for no other reason than that they had gathered a company together in which the Book of Common Prayer was used in divine worship. 'They were banished from Salem,' as we there found admitted by Bancroft him-

⁸ Story's Commentaries upon the Constitution of the United States, i. 49. The same writer points out another instance of a gross breach of faith, committed by the New England Emigrants. Thus, to use his own words, notwithstanding that 'the whole structure of the Charter presupposes the residence of the Company in England, and the transaction of all its business there,' yet, in August, 1629, 'the emigrants determined

that the government and patent should be settled in New England.' *Ib.* 48—50. That the apparent acquiescence of the King in this proceeding was not intended as any admission of its right, is clear (as Story confesses) from his proceedings a few years afterwards. Grahame, a valuable historian, has attempted, but, I think, without success, to justify these acts of the Puritans. i. 206—220.

⁹ Vol. i. c. xii. in loc.

self, 'because they were Churchmen.' Truly, this must be regarded as a tyrannical and dishonest act, let it have been done under any circumstances, or by any men. But done, as it was now, by men who were so loud and vehement in their professions of the love of freedom and of truth; whose sole authority to exercise any power at all in that region was derived from the Charter, which they had craved and obtained from their King; and who, as soon as they had set foot upon the territory assigned to them in that document, thus scattered its chief injunctions to the winds, it receives, and must for ever retain, a heavier burden of reproach ¹⁰.

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Of the New Hampshire Charter, it may also be remarked, that the government conducted under its authority was required to be 'agreeable as near as may be to the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England;' and Mason, to whom it was granted, was anxious to observe this condition with scrupulous integrity. But the adversaries who prevented this from being done, were those very rulers of Massachusetts Bay Colony, who were themselves bound by a like condition in their own Charter. Thus Chalmers,—speaking of Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whom, as well as to Mason, we shall presently see, was granted, with ample rights and powers, an extensive territory in the same region,—says, that the clergy of New England, 'who were

New Hampshire annexed to Massachusetts in 1641.

¹⁰ Bancroft acknowledges that he has seen some unpublished letters in the possession of the editor of Winthrop, 'which prove that the Puritans in England were amazed, as well as alarmed, at the boldness of their brethren in Massachusetts,' i. 344, note.

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at the same time her historians, disliked their persons, because they formed pretensions on that sanctified region, and hated their principles because they were attached to monarchy and the Church of England¹¹. With such hostile feelings it was not difficult to find a pretext for their indulgence. And, accordingly, we find a party, who had been driven out from Boston, in 1637, by reason of the Antinomian disputes which prevailed in that place, settling themselves, under the guidance of Wheelwright, their minister, in the lands which belonged to Mason, 'without his consent, and in opposition to his legal rights.' To these was soon added a still larger body, who came from England, settling in the same neighbourhood without any better title to do so. Civil anarchy, exasperated by religious discord, soon brought them all to ruin; and the small towns of Exeter and Dover, which these men had severally planted upon the shores of the River and Bay of Piscataqua, became the scenes of a civil war as fierce and bloody as that which convulsed unhappy England. Next followed a mingled process of bribery and menace, of persuasion and force, by which the Massachusetts government succeeded in gradually extending its jurisdiction over the distracted settlement of New Hampshire. At last, it resolved to put a new construction upon the terms of its own patent, and assert that New Hampshire was included within it; and since 'it is easy,' as Chalmers shrewdly

¹¹ Chalmers, 471, 472.

observes, 'to find arguments to support a pre-determined measure,' the matter was soon settled. Mason, indeed, protested repeatedly against this invasion of his rights: but all in vain. Within six years of the settlement of New Hampshire, its character as an independent Colony was destroyed by its annexation to that of Massachusetts Bay ¹².

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That these unjust proceedings induced the Council of New England to take the step, to which I have already referred, of resigning their Charter to the Crown, is evident from the formal Declaration which they drew up of their reasons for that step. They especially complain therein of the conduct of certain parties who 'did rend in pieces the first foundation of the Building, and so framed vnto themselves both new laws and new conceipts of matter of Religion and forms of Ecclesiastical and Temporal Orders and government,—for no other cause, save only to make themselves absolute masters of the Country.' This Declaration was accompanied by a Petition that the King might be graciously pleased to confirm the possession of certain parcels of land, which, by mutual consent, had been allotted among the members; after which, they made a full and final surrender of all their rights and privileges to the Crown ¹³.

The first exercise of proprietorship which Charles thus acquired over the territory of New England, was seen in the grant of the Province of Maine,

Maine
granted to
Sir F.
Gorges by
Charles in
1639.

¹² Ibid. 477—479.

¹³ Hazard, 390—392.

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which he gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1639, thereby confirming the assignment previously made to him of that territory by the New England Council¹⁴. After marking out the geographical limits of the country, which, it is enough to say in this place, were New Hampshire on the south and south-west, the Atlantic on the south-east, and the country of Sagadahoc on the north and north-east, the Charter proceeds to confer upon Gorges most important privileges, and describes them in the most explicit terms. For instance, besides all the profits which were to accrue to him from the natural products of the country, it provides that he should have 'all patronages and advowsons, free dispossions and donacons of all and every such Churches and Chappelles as shall be made and erected within the said Province and premisses or any of them, with full power, licence and authority, to build and erect, or cause to be built and erected, soe many Churches and Chappelles there, as to the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assignes shall seeme meete and convenient, and *to dedicate and consecrate the same, or cause the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiasticall lawes of this our realme of England*, together with all and singular, and as large and ample rights, jurisdiction, priviledges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, imunities, fraunchisses, and hereditaments, as well by sea as by land within the said Province and premisses and the precincts and coasts

¹⁴ Chalmers, 95

of the same, or any of them, or within the seas belonging to or adjacent to them, as the Bishop of Durham, within the Bishopricke or Countie Palatine of Duressme, in our Kingdome of England, now hath, vseth, or inioyeth, or of righte ought to have, vse, and inioy within the said Countie Palatine, as if the same were herin perticularly menconed and expressed :—saving alwayes the faith and alleageance, and the supream dominion due to us, our heirs and successors; and for the better government of such our subjects and others, as shall at any time happen to dwell or reside within the said Province or premisses, or passe to or from the same, *our will and pleasure is, that the religion now professed in the Church of England, and ecclesiasticall government now vsed in the same, shall be ever hereafter professed, and with as much convenient speed as may bee settled and established in and throughout the said Province and premisses, and every of them.* Lastly, in addition to the usual proviso, that the laws should not be contrary to those of England, it was expressly enjoined that all powers exercised by the grantee, in matters ‘*both Ecclesiasticall and Civill,*’ should be ‘*subject to the Lords and Commissioners for foraigne Plantations, for the time being*’ at home¹⁵.’

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Here, then, was a Charter, proclaiming rights and privileges greater than any which had ever been granted before to any English subject, except those which had been secured by the Charter of Maryland

Remarks
thereon.

¹⁵ Hazard, i. 442—455.

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to Lord Baltimore. And, in the present case, there was no necessity to resort to any juggling process, such as we have seen was inevitable in that of the Maryland Charter, for the purpose of evading the plain and natural sense of the words contained in it. The fact of Lord Baltimore having entered into communion with the Church of Rome, and refusing, on that account, to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England, made it most difficult, if not impossible, for him to observe *bonâ fide* some of the most prominent conditions of the Maryland Charter. And hence, when Charles and his counsellors granted, and Baltimore received, such authority, they both involved themselves alike in a dilemma from which it is not easy to perceive what way of escape was open to them, except by the sacrifice of truth¹⁶. But, in the case of Gorges, there could be no such difficulty. Whether it were wise, indeed, or just, to invest him with such lofty prerogatives, in a country which was rapidly being peopled with inhabitants notoriously adverse to their exercise, is another question. But Gorges was a faithful member of the Church of England; and no doubt, therefore, could arise as to his determination to execute the trusts relating to that Church according to their obvious meaning.

The Charter, which has been here reviewed, affords another proof that the design of Charles the First in granting it, was to establish and perpetuate in

¹⁶ See pp. 113—118, and 127, 128.

New England the same order of things which existed in the mother country. The Commission, also, issued in 1634, to Archbishop Laud and others,—the general provisions of which I have already pointed out,—was evidently given in furtherance of the same object¹⁷; and the Orders in Council, and other measures, which I have noticed, in connexion with the restraints imposed, or intended to be imposed, upon the New England emigrants¹⁸, are all based upon the hypothesis that the ordinances of one and the same Church were to be administered, and the laws of one and the same King to be obeyed, upon both sides of the Atlantic. I cannot now look upon many of those measures with feelings different from those which I have experienced in describing them; and it is not, therefore, with any desire to retract or qualify the expressions of regret to which I have before given utterance, that I again advert to a policy which, unjust and oppressive in itself, was made so much more hurtful by the mode of its execution; but simply that I may state, in all sincerity, the fact that Charles and his counsellors were not the only parties upon whom blame in this matter rests. The emigrants to New England, by agreeing to the terms set forth in their respective Charters,—nay, not merely agreeing,

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¹⁷ See p. 35. Bancroft has not described the extent of this Commission too strongly, when he says that it gave 'full power over the American plantations; to establish the government and dictate the laws; to regulate the church; to inflict even the heaviest punish-

ments; and to revoke any charter which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative,' i. 407. See also Chalmers, 158.

¹⁸ See p. 19—25.

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as though by constrained acquiescence, but actually petitioning for them and exerting all their influence to obtain them,—became parties to a compact, which, unless truth and honour are unmeaning words, they were bound to observe. The compact, however, was neither observed, nor ever meant to be; but instantly, openly, and deliberately violated. Nor was this all. Whilst they claimed, in this questionable manner, independence for themselves, they denied it to all others who differed from them; and that so rigorously, that, in a very few years after the issuing of the Charter for Maine, we find one of the first historians of the United States in the present day, acknowledging, that ‘base ambition’ was mingled with the schemes of church government, which Massachusetts was then devising, and ‘a false direction’ given to the legislation of her state government; that ‘the creation of a national, uncompromising church, led the Congregationalists of that province to the indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors; and *Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged*¹⁹.’

Maine annexed to Massachusetts in 1651.

If this be the language of one, whose eloquence is never more brilliant than when it is called forth in praise of the first settlers of New England, it is easy to foresee that the spirit of aggrandizement,

¹⁹ Bancroft, i. 450, 451. How strange is it, that, in the face of such an admission as this, the same writer should state, in a few pages onward, in the same chapter, of the same Puritan settlers in New England, that they ‘did not attempt to convert others, but to protect themselves; they never punished opinion as such; they never attempted to torture or tempt men into orthodoxy!’ *Ib.* 463.

which he thus describes, would, by indulgence, become stronger. The new settlement of Maine held out many temptations for such indulgence. Towns quickly arose along its sixty miles of sea coast; and facilities of trade drew inhabitants to each of them, who followed, for the most part, their own courses, with little interference from Gorges and his agents. The struggle that was going on at home was quite sufficient to prevent the proprietor of Maine from maintaining the requisite exercise of the powers granted to him under his Charter; and, when that struggle ended in the overthrow of the monarch from whom he had received its powers, it seemed hopeless to insist upon the fulfilment of its conditions. At such a moment, then, Massachusetts stepped in and laid her strong hand upon the province which had been assigned to another. The same special pleading, with regard to the extent of her own privileges, which she had employed so successfully in the case of New Hampshire, she now repeated with not less success in the case of Maine. The same intrigues also were set on foot in this, which had been carried on in the former, instance; and the elements to work upon being the same,—namely, as Chalmers truly states, an ‘ignorant and fanatical’ people,—the same result of discord and confusion followed. Amid such divisions, Massachusetts found the means of her own advancement. Some of the towns of Maine she persuaded to yield to her jurisdiction; others, she compelled; and thus, by following a course of action, of which the dexterity

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and boldness, but not the justice, may be commended, she succeeded, at an early period of the Commonwealth, in bringing the whole province under her authority²⁰.

Summary of
the subse-
quent his-
tory of New
Hampshire
and Maine.

Petitions to remedy these grievances were addressed, by the grantees of New Hampshire and Maine, to Cromwell and his Parliaments in vain. And, —if I may here anticipate the sequel of their history, —the applications, made afterwards by Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the original patentees, to Charles the Second, were not more successful. ‘Nothing,’ says Chalmers, ‘could be more evident than the justness of their pretensions, except the frivolity of the pretences on which they had been deprived of their possessions²¹.’ This, let it be remarked, is the testimony of a writer who had access to all the official documents connected with the controversy, and has given references to them so full and exact, that it is in the power of all who wish it to ascertain, in every instance, the accuracy with which he prosecuted his researches. We feel, therefore, that, in following him, we follow a safe guide. And he states, that, notwithstanding the King’s written commands to the General Court of Massachusetts to restore to the proprietors their lawful rights, and the exertions of the royal commissioners, who were appointed to carry the same into effect, the General Court contrived successfully to thwart all their pro-

²⁰ Chalmers, 480, 481. The only exceptions were the villages lying furthest eastward, but even

they had surrendered their independence before the end of 1658.

²¹ Ibid. 482.

ceedings. Thus, wearied out by a vexatious struggle of fourteen years' duration, Gorges and Mason felt that their best course was to make a tender of their respective claims to the King; a proposal which he gladly listened to, from a desire to form the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine into a settlement for his illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth. But the same General Court of Massachusetts, which had hitherto resisted the claims of the proprietors, now disputed their right to dispose of the lands in question; and refused even, for a time, to send any agents to this country, to state its reasons in defence of such proceedings. At length, indeed, the Court agreed to send agents; influenced, probably, by the threat held out by the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, that, unless they did so, every means would be employed to interrupt the trade of the Colony²².

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The question was argued, in 1677, before Chief Justice Rainsford, of the King's Bench, and Chief Justice North, of the Common Pleas, afterwards Lord Guilford; and the invalidity of the Massachusetts claims, which had been for so many years asserted with such effrontery, was at once confessed,

²² Ibid. 483—485. A Council of Trade, for superintending the whole commerce of the nation, had been appointed by Charles, after the Restoration; and, in 1668, a Board of Trade and Plantations was appointed by Parliament. Beatson's Political Index, iii. viii. Supplement. Evelyn was appointed a member of this Board, Feb. 28, 1671, and

makes many allusions to the difficulty which they had, in their meetings during the same year, with respect to the 'peevish and touchy humour' of the Massachusetts Colony, and the disposition which it manifested to declare itself 'independent of the Crowne.' Memoirs, ii. 337. 342—346.

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by their agents giving up all title to the land of the petitioners. The judges accordingly confined the limits of the Massachusetts Colony to those described in its Charter, and the meaning of which they then clearly defined; and adjudged to Gorges all the territory which had been assigned to him under the Charter of Maine, with such right of government as was granted under the same. So far all appears simple and satisfactory; but, inasmuch as some of the lands which the petitioners claimed were in the hands of parties who did not then appear before the judges, they further reported that they had not entered into any examination of the same, but referred the parties to courts of justice in the Colony, having jurisdiction, for the decision of the question of title²³. This last direction, however, equitable as it appeared to be, made the whole decision of the judges nugatory. For the men, before whom the parties were thus directed to bring their claims, themselves occupied the disputed property; and hence, little or no progress could be made towards a satisfactory adjustment. The matter became also still further perplexed, and the King further irritated, by another act of the Court of Massachusetts. For, as soon as the Court saw that the province of Maine would be awarded by the judges to its lawful proprietors, it prudently purchased the same, in spite of the King's known intention and wish to purchase it for himself; 'and, having (in

²³ The Report of the two Chief Justices is given at length in Chalmers, 504—507.

the words of Chalmers,) determined to retain what its superior address had gained, it easily found excuses to palliate what it could not defend.' It so far regarded the Patent, originally granted to Gorges, as to appoint officers and administer justice throughout the province of Maine, in the mode which that instrument had prescribed; but, of course, treated with supreme contempt all instructions, which it had likewise prescribed, touching the laws and ordinances of the Church. CHAP.
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With respect to New Hampshire, when the Court of Massachusetts solicited a renewal of that jurisdiction over it, which had been restrained by the report of the Chief Justices,—although the people of New Hampshire themselves supported the application,—the King refused to grant it; and resolved to establish a temporary administration in the province, to be carried on by a president and council, who should be appointed by the Crown. But here a spirit of infatuation marred a project in itself wise and commendable. For the terms of the New Hampshire Patent assumed that men were to administer its concerns, who were attached to the laws of our country, and to the ministrations of our Church; and, whilst the powers, now entrusted to the executive of this Colony, gave liberty of conscience to all, it was said that they should be especially directed to the encouragement of the Church of England. Nevertheless, the members of the first Council, under Cutt, the first president, were enthusiastic Independents, and devoted to the in-

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terests of Massachusetts. Hence arose a determination upon their part to reject, or make abortive, any instructions transmitted to them from the Crown, which were unpalatable to themselves. The president was 'an honest man and loyal subject,' and seems to have done his duty with fidelity and courage, as long as life lasted. But his career was a short one. And, upon his death, an end was put to a government, of which the members appear to have done nothing else than obstruct the views of those who had invested them with authority.

Lionel Cranfield was next appointed, in 1682, lieutenant-governor and admiral of the province. The terms of his commission were substantially the same with those which, we have seen, had been given to the governors of Virginia. But he had no power to execute the duties delegated to him; and scarcely a single man could be found in the Colony who was not, in his heart and conscience, opposed to the laws which Cranfield was commissioned to enforce. His character seems to have been distinguished both for its firmness and courtesy; and, at first, the exhibition of these qualities won for him some support. But the first Assembly which he convoked, soon proved to him, by its immediate and systematic opposition to all his views, that there was no way of obtaining peace, but by submitting to every demand which its members chose to make. Resistance upon his part was followed by insurrection upon theirs; and so the work of anarchy went on, until Cranfield,

baffled in all his plans, ruined in his fortunes, and blamed even by the authorities at home for not adhering to instructions which, under any circumstances, it would have been impossible for him to have obeyed, he was, at his own earnest entreaty, recalled in 1685, leaving Barefoot as deputy-governor. Meanwhile, Mason's pecuniary and just claims had never been satisfied. The law, indeed, gave judgments in his favour; but these were utterly inefficacious; for the officers appointed to carry them into effect were unable to do so. In this condition of difficulty and depression, we leave the Colonies of New Hampshire and of Maine²⁴.

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It now becomes necessary to review more minutely the steps by which Massachusetts gained the ascendancy which has been described in the foregoing pages. The two hundred emigrants who sailed from England, with John Winthrop for their governor²⁵, in 1629, under the authority of Rosewell's Charter,—but, not until they had succeeded in transferring, contrary to one of its express conditions, the place of government from London to Massachusetts Bay²⁶—found Salem, which had been settled

Progress of
the Colony
of Massa-
chusetts.

²⁴ Ibid. 482—498.

²⁵ Cradock, who had been nominated governor in the charter, would not undertake the voyage. Neal, i. 132.

²⁶ Holmes's American Annals, i. 204. That no impediment should have been put in the way of this proceeding by the King, is justly supposed by Robertson to have been either because he 'was so

much occupied at that time with other cares, occasioned by his fatal breach with his Parliament, that he could not attend to the proceedings of the Company; or he was so much pleased with the prospect of removing a body of turbulent subjects to a distant country, where they might be useful, and could not prove dangerous, that he was disposed to con-

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by Endicot in the preceding year, a miserable village, consisting only of a few small huts, and occupied by a hundred planters, who were scarcely able to supply themselves with food. From this obscure centre, a mighty and enduring power soon spread. The settlements of Charles Town and Dorchester were begun by Winthrop and his followers a few months after their arrival. Other emigrants soon joined them, and, in the next year, a party from Charles Town removed to a peninsula at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, where they built the town of Boston, which is now the metropolis of the whole province²⁷. In all the difficulties and struggles which they had to encounter at this period, they received the most valuable succour from the previously established colony of Plymouth, and its governor, William Bradford; and few histories are more full of stirring interest, than those which recount the progress thus made by the New England emigrants. But upon these particulars I have not room to dwell here. It must suffice for my present purpose, therefore, to state, that, through the diligence and perseverance of the first settlers, and constant addition to their numbers by emigrants from home, the Colony quickly advanced to such an extent, that, before the commencement of the Civil War, fifty towns and villages were founded, thirty churches and ministers' houses built, and numerous and extensive plantations highly cultivated²⁸.

nive at the irregularity of a measure which facilitated their departure.' History of America, B. x.

Works, xi. 288, 290.

²⁷ Neal, i. 133, 134.

²⁸ Chalmers, 166.

The instruments, engaged in carrying on the work to this successful issue, were men of unbending hearts and busy hands. It was quickly seen, that both the end which they proposed to aim at, and the means which they employed to gain it, were wholly independent of the former associations which bound them to the land of their fathers; and that an abrupt, wide, and permanent separation from them all was to be established, as soon as they crossed the Atlantic. The laws, by which they had been governed aforetime, were now deemed no longer fitted for their use. The words, moreover, of prayer and praise, which fell from the lips of worshippers in the Churches of their native land, were to be repeated no more; the sacred ordinances administered in those Churches,—which were then, as they had been in the generations of old, and will, to the end of time, continue to be, the source of holiness and happiness to thousands,—were not, for an instant, to be tolerated; and all reverence for those ordinances, and for the spiritual rulers with whom they were identified, was henceforth to be trampled under foot, as an unclean and hateful thing. And yet, this rude rejection of all that Churchmen hold justly dear, was not the work of scoffers or ungodly men; but of men, loud in their profession, and ardent in their desire, to glorify God. For that cause, they declared that they left both home and kindred; and the words of solemn covenant which they subscribed, as soon as they set foot in the new country, were these: ‘We covenant

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with the Lord, and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed word of truth;—we give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of His grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and correction, resolving to cleave unto Him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in His worship. We promise to walk with our brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards²⁹.

It were impiety to suppose that they who put their hands to such a declaration were not sincere. On the contrary, I believe, not only that they were sincere, but animated by a greatness of thought and will, which taught them to brave cheerfully every danger, and to count not even their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might secure the liberty which they longed for. And yet as little, I think, can it be doubted, that they knew "not what spirit" they were "of;" and, that, in the burning zeal with which they insisted upon the reception of their doctrines, they were frequently hurried to conclusions which, if others had arrived at the same, they would have been the first to condemn. View-

²⁹ Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, i. 18.

ing Church government only through the medium of its abuses, they forgot how many and vital points of agreement, in matters of faith, existed between the instruments of that government and themselves; and hence were led to break asunder the bonds of brotherhood, which might, and ought to have been, preserved inviolate³⁰. Thus truth was exposed to jeopardy on every side, "amid the strife of tongues;" and the sequel will show how often, and how fearfully, her sacred prerogatives were outraged, in the wild uproar that ensued. Let the words of our own honoured poet bear witness to this humiliating fact. He speaks, in accents of no faint praise, of 'The Pilgrim Fathers;' nay, assuredly declares them

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'Blest,—as they took for guide,
A will by sovereign conscience sanctified,
Blest, while their spirits from the words ascend
Along a Galaxy that knows no end,
But in His glory who for sinners died.'

And yet, he sees the clouds even then rising up and darkening that bright field of vision; and thus describes it:

'From Rite and Ordinance abused they fled
To Wilds where both were utterly unknown;
But not to them had Providence foreshown
What benefits are missed, what evils bred,
In worship neither raised nor limited
Save by Self-will³¹.'

³⁰ 'There was no real religious quarrel,' says Guizot in his *History of Civilization*, 'between the episcopal and the puritan party; little dispute upon dogmas, or concerning faith; not but that there existed real differences of opinion between them, differences of great

importance; but this was not the principal point. Practical liberty was what the puritans wished to force from the episcopal party: it was for this they strove.' i. 285. Bogue's edition.

³¹ Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*.

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The 'evils bred,' thus, by the indulgence of 'self-will,' are no mere coinage of the poet's brain, but painful realities; the germ of which may be discerned in those wrongful acts, which, we have already said, the settlers of New England committed at the outset of their career. To solicit rights and privileges, which, at that time, a Royal Charter only could bestow; and, having gained them, to cast off, forthwith and for ever, all regard for the chief conditions which accompanied them; to speak of the Church of England in terms of such warm affection, as those which are set forth in Winthrop's farewell letter; to describe themselves as a church springing out of the bowels of the Church of England, and to ask the blessing of her prayers upon their enterprise³²; and yet to drive out those brothers,—to

³² Neal, i. 132, who there quotes only the concluding part of the letter, which fully bears out what I have said above. But the whole letter is given by another writer, from whose pages I extract a yet more striking passage: 'Howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement, through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us—for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world—yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principles and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much

sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging, that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts; we leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus. Be pleased, therefore, fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand, which if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious.' Baird's Reli-

whose case we have more than once alluded,—for no other crime than that of using the Book of Common Prayer in the worship of their common Saviour; these were the unseemly blots which defaced the earliest records of their proceedings. That the men who caused them should have stood neither self-condemned and humbled, as they contemplated such acts of theirs, nor have striven to obliterate at once all traces of them, seems well-nigh incredible. Not only did they never manifest any such feelings, but they could receive with calm indifference, the rebuke which Blackstone, a clergyman, and one of their own party, uttered against them, when, refusing to countenance their measures, he said, ‘that, as he came from England, because he did not like the Lord Bishops, so he could not join with them, because he would not be under the Lord Brethren³³.’ It is a vain task to attempt a solution of the complex problem which such a history presents. We must leave it, as we find it;—a signal instance of the evils into which zealous men may plunge themselves, who hold, howsoever sincerely, only a portion of the truth.

The General Court of Massachusetts,—held, for Its Laws. the first time, as the Charter required, in October, 1630,—was not long in doing that which was plainly contrary to its provisions. It conferred upon itself new powers; and, through this usurped authority,

gion of the United States, 107, 108. How these words are to be reconciled with the course pursued immediately afterwards by

the men who indited them, is to me perfectly inexplicable.

³³ Neal, i. 135.

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enacted laws, repugnant, in many most important particulars, to those of England; notwithstanding that the Charter had said, in express terms, that no such repugnancy was to be permitted. In the next year, the Court decreed that none but freemen of the province should elect the governor, and other officers; and that they only were to be accounted freemen, who were in communion with each other, according to their own arbitrary rules of church-membership³⁴. The powers, thus boldly assumed, were maintained with a high hand; and, accordingly, the General Court, held at Boston, May 14, 1634, declared that it alone had power to make and establish laws, to raise money and taxes, and to dispose of lands; and that the freemen, of whom it was composed,—chosen, two or three in number from the several plantations or towns by the freemen of each,—should, as their representatives, deliberate and decide upon all affairs of the commonwealth, except such as related to the election of Magistrates and other officers, wherein every freeman was to give his own voice. It was further provided that there should be four such General Courts held every year; to be summoned by the governor for the time being; and not to be dissolved without the consent of the majority³⁵. At first, all the magistrates and representatives sat together, and acted as one body. But, in 1644, a division was made of them into two bodies, each

³⁴ Chalmers, 153.³⁵ Hazard, i. 320.

of which had a negative upon the acts of the other. The laws, enacted before this division was made, and continued afterwards, were of the severest order. Blasphemy, idolatry, witchcraft, heresy, perjury, profanation of the Lord's Day, treason, reviling of the Governor and Council, rebellion, disobedience to parents, murder, adultery, incest, man-stealing, and bearing false-witness, were, all of them, declared crimes to be alike punished by death. Again, disregard of their churches' authority, reviling God's worship, and disrespect to magistrates, were offences, which doomed those who committed them to banishment. Against fornication, the penalties of compulsory marriage, or of a fine and imprisonment, were affixed. Upon those who were guilty of swearing, drunkenness, robbery, and the like, the punishments were imposed of imprisonment, or scourging, or branding, and boring the tongue through with a hot iron; and, if any of the latter class of crimes were committed on the Lord's Day, the offender was further condemned to lose one of his ears. It is evident that many, and the severest of these laws, were directly at variance with the principles which the framers of them so jealously asserted in their own behalf, namely, 'that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men.' But this seems not to have given them any concern. They carried them into effect as rigorously as if they alone had received a commission from Heaven to determine what was right among men. And hence, they not only maintained that

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bitter and unsparing warfare against the Church of England, which has been already described; but put to the rout, in 1643, even a party of persons who, under the authority of the Assembly of Divines, attempted to set up the Presbyterian government in Boston. Moreover, they sentenced all Jesuits and Popish Priests, found within their borders, to banishment, and, if they should return, to death; and, in 1652, extended the same law to all Quakers, prohibiting any of 'that cursed sect,' as they called them, from entering the Colony, and ordering those who might be found there, to be banished, upon pain of death. In this manner, the apostles of religious liberty commended their principles to the world⁶!

The abolition of all those festivals by which the Christian Church, from the earliest ages, had commemorated the most holy and blessed mysteries of its faith, and the prohibition of certain amusements, which by many good men are deemed lawful and harmless, followed as necessary corollaries from such acts of legislation. And, as for the enmity cherished

⁶ Chalmers, 165—167. See also Abstract of New England Lawes, 1641, chap. vii. viii. It is curious to observe the gentle terms in which some of the champions of New England speak of the severity of the early settlers. Thus, in a pamphlet, said to have been written by Mather, and published in 1689, entitled 'A brief relation of the State of New England, &c. it is said, p. 7. 'Not but the people

there being but men, have had their failings as well as other men in all places of the world. The only thing (so far as I can learn) which can with any colour of truth be justly reflected on them as a great fault, is, that in some matters relating to conscience and difference of opinion, they have been more rigid and severe than the primitive Christians, or the Gospel doth allow of.'

by the New England emigrants, against all and every thing which might seem to savour of superstition, it was carried to so extravagant a height, that, when a certain fanatic had cut the red cross of St. George out of the standard of England,—being, as he alleged, a sign of idolatry,—a long and grave dispute ensued with respect to the lawfulness of retaining that emblem; some arguing, that to erase it would be deemed an act of rebellion against their sovereign, which they were not yet prepared avowedly to commit; whilst others were ready to run the risk of that imputation, rather than to pay honour, as they said, unto an idol, by marching under colours which bore the cross upon them. The dispute was only ended by a compromise, which permitted the red cross still to wave upon their ships and castles, whilst, to such fastidious train-bands of the militia as desired it, a banner without the cross was given ³⁷.

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I have already stated that the General Court of Massachusetts, in which was vested, by its own act, the whole government of the Colony, was composed only of those who were admitted to the freedom of the Company; that none could vote for such representatives, except those who shared the like freedom; and that they only were allowed to share it, who were in communion with each other, according to their own arbitrary rules of church membership. Those rules were, in the strictest sense of the term, arbitrary; for they were determined only by the will

Rules of
church-
member-
ship.

³⁷ Ibid. 156.

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of the clergy and elders of the respective congregations; the former of whom, in most instances, of course, greatly influenced the judgment that was expressed³⁵. A Covenant, indeed, and General Confession, had been drawn up, on their first arrival, when Higginson was constituted pastor, and Skelton teacher, of the first church, then settled at Salem; and I have called the attention of the reader to some of the chief matters therein professed. But 'as for the circumstances of admission into this church,'—I here quote Cotton Mather's words,—'they left it very much unto the discretion and faithfulness of their elders, together with the condition of the persons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expressing their consent unto their confession and covenant; some were admitted after their first answering to questions about religion propounded unto them; some were admitted when they had presented in writing such things as might give satisfaction unto the people of God concerning them, and some that were admitted, orally addressed the people of God in such terms as they thought proper to ask their communion with; which diversity was perhaps more beautiful than would have been a more punctilious uniformity: but none were admitted without regard unto a blameless and holy conversation. They did all agree with their brethren of Plymouth on this point, 'that the children of the faithful were

³⁵ Robertson justly remarks upon this subject, that the clergy thereby acquired an authority from which the rules of the Independent Church polity would otherwise have excluded them. Works, xi. 202.

church-members, with their parents ; and that their baptism was a seal of their being so ;' only before their admission to fellowship in a particular church, it was judged necessary, that, being free from scandal, they should be examined by the elders of the church, upon whose approbation of their fitness, they should publicly and personally own the covenant, so they were to be received unto the table of the Lord ³⁹.' It must be obvious, to all who know the natural intolerance of the human mind, and the impulse which is given to it by ignorance, or prejudice, or passion, that, to make church-membership dependent upon the decision to be given in such a manner, and by such self-constituted judges, was to place it upon a very uncertain and precarious basis. It was an usurpation, in fact, of God's prerogatives ; an attempt to make man a judge of those secret motives of action in his brother man, which are known only to the Great Searcher of all hearts. And, if the judgment were unfavourable, it invested the judges with the further and most dangerous power of depriving the condemned party of all part or lot in those spiritual privileges, which were deemed by themselves essential to the peace and welfare of the soul. And when, or by whom, could such a power have been exercised with advantage, or even with safety ? In striving thus to gather up the tares, they must inevitably, in many instances, have rooted up the wheat likewise. In putting

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³⁹ Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, i. 19.

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thus away from them every one who could not, or would not, repeat their own shibboleth, they must, frequently, "have made the heart of the righteous sad, whom" the Lord had "not made sad⁴⁰." Nor did the evil stop here. They, who were thus put under the ban of exclusion in matters spiritual, were also, we have seen, debarred from all rights and privileges enjoyed by freemen of the province. And so, the injustice of the test was made more cruel, and another confirmation given to the truth of the words already quoted, which speak of the 'benefits' which are 'missed,' and

' Evils bred,
In worship neither raised nor limited
Save by Self-will.'

Lechford's
' Plain
Dealing.'

A remarkable witness of the reality and magnitude of such evils is found in the person of Thomas Lechford, who published, in 1641-2, a pamphlet, entitled, 'Plain Dealing; or, Newes from New England⁴¹.' He had emigrated to Massachusetts, about four years before; having, as he states in his preface, suffered 'imprisonment, and a kind of banishment,' from his native country, 'for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert, Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England.' That Lechford was not really guilty of the offences thus charged against him, is evident

⁴⁰ Ezek. xiii. 22.

⁴¹ The copy from which I have quoted, is contained in a volume of Bishop Kennett's Tracts. The

pamphlet has lately been republished in the Third Volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

from the whole tenor of his pamphlet; and one object in writing it, he expressly says, was to 'purge' himself 'of so great a scandal,' and 'to intreat all' his 'superiors, and others, to impute it rather to' his 'ignorance, for the time, than any wilfull stubbornness.' His description of the church government existing in Massachusetts, and especially of that part of it which relates to the rules of admission to church-membership, is substantially the same as that which I have quoted above from the pages of Cotton Mather, but marked by greater minuteness of detail. These rules, he relates, were acted upon with such rigour, that, sometimes the master was admitted, and not the servant; the husband, and not the wife; the child, and not the parent; and *vice versa*. If the parties, hearing the evidence why any one should be received into, or retained in, communion, were satisfied that the accused were guilty, their silence was deemed a sufficient assent; and sentence of admonition, or excommunication, was forthwith pronounced. If the offence charged related only to erroneous opinions, the teacher pronounced the sentence; but if to ill manners, then the pastor pronounced it⁴². The ruling elders did not usually pronounce any sentence; 'but I have heard,' adds Lechford, 'a Captaine delivered over

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⁴² Lechford draws a distinction between the offices of pastor and teacher; the former, being regarded by some persons as appointed 'to minister a word of wisdom,' and the latter 'a word of knowledge.' But others, he says, regarded the two offices as one; and he specifies the church of Watertowne as having two pastors, and refusing to send any messengers to any other church-gathering or ordination, p. 4.

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to Satan, in the church at Dorchester, in the absence of their minister.' The person excommunicated was held as a heathen and publican; although, in Boston, the children were sometimes allowed to eat with their excommunicated parents; and an excommunicated magistrate was still to be obeyed in civil matters. In most towns of New England, the excommunicated person might be present at prayer, provided he did not take any eminent position in the assembly; but, at Newhaven, he was compelled to stand outside, at the door, in frost, or rain, or snow. Censures of this kind were, for the most part, he admits, exercised with moderation. Yet, he relates the case of 'a gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stiffness maintained, who had said, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of joyners' worke of a chamber too high, and endeavoured to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the church (though she first told the party of it); and this without her husband.' The offender, here spoken of, was still under sentence of excommunication, at the time of Lechford's departure from the Colony⁴³.

The writer of this and other like statements,—for he says elsewhere, that he was not admitted as a communicant during the whole period of his sojourn in the Colony⁴⁴, and that only because he demurred to their mode of church discipline,—having a lively

⁴³ Ibid. 12, 13.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 69.

sense of the evils which he describes, asks, whether this 'independent mode, of every congregational church ruling itself;' were not virtually to introduce, 'not only one absolute Bishop into every parish, but, in effect, to make so many men so many Bishops? If all are rulers,' he enquires further, 'who shall be ruled?' and urges his brother emigrants to remember the Apostolic precept, "My brethren, be not many masters"⁴⁵. But the injustice, of which he especially complains, is that to which I have before adverted, namely, the making the possession of temporal privileges dependent upon a participation in church-membership. His words are, 'Now the most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen: and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tryed and judged too by those of the church, who are in a sort their adversaries. How equall that hath been, or may be, some by experience doe knowe, others may judge'⁴⁶. Towards the end of his pamphlet, and in some letters appended to it, Lechford discusses, with singular candour and acuteness, some of the chief arguments in support of Episcopacy, confessing, that, at one time of his life, he had not duly regarded them, but that his experience of the state of things in New England had since taught him to hold them fast.

I regret that the many important matters, still re-

⁴⁵ James iii. 1; and Preface i. iii.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 23.

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maining to be noticed in this chapter, prevent me from giving even a summary of these arguments. It is only left for me gratefully to acknowledge, that, in a day of intolerance and strife, this writer exhibited a moderation equal to his firmness; and that the sense of the wrongs which he himself suffered did not provoke him to bring a railing accusation against those who had inflicted them, but that by calm reasoning and patient appeal to Scripture, he strove to vindicate most vital truths.

Roger
Williams.

A short time before Lechford's arrival in Massachusetts, another man, of very different stamp, had started up, and struck terror into the hearts of her rulers, by the boldness and vigour with which he condemned their acts. His name was Roger Williams⁴⁷. He had landed in the Colony, in 1630, and was afterwards chosen to succeed Skelton, the first pastor of the church at Salem. The opinions which he proclaimed, had they been adopted, would quickly have broken down the whole frame-work of government established by his brother emigrants; for he not only pronounced it unlawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, and refused to do so in his own person, but declared also that the King

⁴⁷ Cotton Mather introduces his notice of Williams in the following quaint terms: 'In the year 1654, a certain windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with extraordinary violence, by reason of a storm then blowing, the stone at length by its rapid motion became so intensely hot, as to fire the mill, from whence the flames,

being dispersed by the high wind did set a whole town on fire. But I can tell my reader, that about twenty years before this, there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill, in the head of one particular man.' *Magnalia. B. vii. p. 7.*

had never possessed authority to grant the Charter which they had received; that it was injurious to the natives; and, consequently, to be renounced by themselves, as invalid. Furthermore, he maintained that it was only with the duties of the second table of the moral law, that the magistrate had any concern; that a general and unlimited toleration of all opinions was, therefore, of necessity, to be allowed; and, that, to punish men for matters of conscience, was persecution⁴⁸. On the other hand, he refused to hold communion with all persons who did not hold the same opinions; and insisted upon his followers imitating his example. He would not even associate with his wife, because she attended worship at Salem; and separated himself from his children, because they were unregenerate; a result, which arose out of a previous doctrine taught by him, that it was not lawful for an unregenerate person to pray⁴⁹. Such opinions and practices, asserted by any man, must have provoked the censure of the General Court of Massachusetts; but,—supported as they were by Williams with great zeal, and eloquence, and undaunted courage, and repeated, by large numbers

⁴⁸ Neal, i. 141.

⁴⁹ Grahame, i. 226. Another perilous conclusion drawn from this doctrine, was urged upon him by Hooker at his trial. 'If it be unlawful,' says Hooker, 'to call an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an action of God's worship, then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat. If it be unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his

meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it, for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer, unsanctified. (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.) If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it; for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin. Hereupon, adds Cotton Mather, Mr. Williams chose to hold his peace, rather than make any answer.' *Magnalia*, B. vii. p. 8.

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of his avowed disciples and followers, they soon drew down upon him the sentence of exile from the Colony, as a disturber of its peace.

He fled from Salem, in 1636, amid the rigours of a most severe winter; and was sorely tossed about 'for fourteen weeks, not knowing what bread or bed did mean; and often, in the stormy night, having neither fire, nor food, nor company; wandering often without a guide, and having no house but a hollow tree.' The friendship which he had formed, in earlier days, with the neighbouring sachems of some Indian tribes, now profited him in his hour of need; and from Massassoit, the chief of the Pokanokets, and Canonicus, the chief of the Naragansetts, he received the food and shelter which sustained and protected him until the spring. The place, which he first pitched upon for his habitation, was found to be within the limits of the Plymouth patent; and, having received a private hint from Governor Winthrop, that he should bend his steps towards Naragansett Bay, which lay beyond those limits, he proceeded thither⁵⁰.

Rhode
Island.

His companions were only five in number; and, having made their voyage safely in a small Indian canoe, they landed upon a spot in the Bay, to which, in token of his trust in God's overruling power, Williams gave the name of Providence; which it still retains. Before two years had passed away, he purchased, from the chiefs of the Naragansetts, territory on the continent, and in the islands of the Bay, and

⁵⁰ Mass. Hist. Coll. quoted by Bancroft, i. 378, 379.

distributed it among the many English emigrants who resorted thither as a safe place of refuge, not reserving to himself a single foot. He still acted there upon the same principles, which he had in vain endeavoured to vindicate in Massachusetts; and never manifested any desire to retaliate upon his persecutors. The civil government in the State of Rhode Island was that of a purest democracy; and, in all spiritual matters, its inhabitants enjoyed that entire liberty of conscience which Williams had always advocated⁴¹. But, if we are to follow the authority of Neal and Cotton Mather, we must believe that the experiment failed; for the one asserts, that, 'proceeding from one whimzy to another, they soon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy, till at last religion itself grew into contempt, and the public worship of God was generally neglected;' and the other, quoting a similar description from his namesake Cotton, relates that the 'separate Church (if it may be called a church) which separated with Mr. Williams, first broke into a division about a small occasion (as I have heard), and then broke forth into Anabaptism, and then into Antibaptism and Familism, and now, finally, into no church at all⁴².'

Bearing in mind, therefore, such melancholy results, I cannot but regard the terms of enthusiastic praise which Bancroft has bestowed upon Roger Williams, as tending to exalt him too highly⁴³. Nevertheless, his name deserves to be

⁴¹ Bancroft, i. 380.

⁴³ Bancroft, i. 376.

⁴² Neal, i. 143; Mather's *Magnalia*, B. vii. 9.

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held in grateful memory. For he continued to exhibit in Rhode Island, throughout a period of nearly half a century, the same self-denying and generous spirit, which had before distinguished him; relieving the distressed, sheltering the persecuted, even when they had been his own persecutors; striving still to maintain with the Colony, from which he had been banished, a friendly intercourse; and seeking to proclaim the Gospel to the neighbouring Indians. The celebrated leader of the Antinomian party, Mrs. Hutchinson,—of whom more will be said presently,—found in Rhode Island a temporary asylum from her enemies, and in Williams, one who sympathized with her extravagancies; but, from the fearful errors introduced soon afterwards by Gorton, another religious enthusiast, even Williams himself was compelled to shrink⁴⁴. In 1643, Williams was sent to England, by the inhabitants of Rhode Island, to procure for them a Charter; and, through the assistance of Vane, succeeded in obtaining one, under the name of ‘The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Naragansett Bay.’ From the confederacy entered into at that time by the other Colonies of New England, for their mutual defence, Rhode Island was excluded, on account of the apprehension still entertained of the dangerous tenets of its inhabitants. But this exclusion only led them to cultivate, with renewed assiduity and success, the friendship of the neighbouring Indians,

⁴⁴ Neal, i. 178—180.

from whom they obtained fresh grants of territory ; and to establish, in the genuine spirit of democracy, a government for themselves. Their government was suspended for a short time, under the Commonwealth, but was soon resumed, and continued until the Restoration ; when, after some delay, another Charter was granted, which, with slight alteration, has been the foundation of the government of its people ever since ⁵⁵.

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Among the many persons who found in Rhode Island a place of safety from the storms of persecution, which were provoked by their own wilful violence, I have just mentioned Mrs. Hutchinson. She had emigrated, in the first instance, to Massachusetts from Lincolnshire ; and, being, as Cotton Mather relates ⁵⁶, ‘ a gentlewoman of an haughty carriage, busie spirit, competent wit, and a voluble tongue,’ speedily distinguished herself, amid the enthusiasts who abounded in the province, by advocating, without reserve or compromise, the wildest tenets of Antinomianism. Whatsoever share in the truths of the Gospel might hitherto have been regarded, as their own undoubted privilege, by the founders of Plymouth, or Salem, or Boston, those claims, she now told them, in the most distinct terms, were an utter delusion. The Colony was declared by her to be involved in grossest darkness ; and no favour from the Almighty could be hoped for, until a thorough and entire change were effected. Its rules of church-membership, she asserted, were worse

Antino-
mians.

⁵⁵ Chalmers, 171—176 ; Morse’s Geography, in loc.

⁵⁶ Magnalia, B. vii. p. 18.

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than futile. No holiness of life could be regarded as the index of a title to salvation. Salvation depended solely upon the irrespective decrees of eternal salvation; and the abiding force of such decrees,—an assurance of which was said to be conveyed, by immediate inspiration, to the individuals whom they concerned,—superseded the necessity of any other obligation. In consequence of the favour which such opinions met with from large numbers of the people, the words of Cotton and other pious clergy, whose ministrations had long been received with reverence and affection, were laughed to scorn. Mrs. Hutchinson, and her brother, Wheelwright, were deemed the sole oracles of wisdom and truth. Harry Vane the younger, who had emigrated to New England a short time before the breaking out of these divisions, and been elected governor of the Colony, was suspected of sympathy with these leaders of the Antinomian party; and, failing to be re-elected governor, in consequence of this suspicion, returned home. But all the elements of religious discord were left behind him in active operation. It was no question of abstract argument which was at issue; no mere expression of opinions, of which the influence might have been confined only to the pulpits, or houses, in which they were expressed; but, at every turn, some practical evil or other was found to arise out of these fierce disputes. The very serjeants of the governor hesitated to take up their halberds and march before him, because they feared to recognize therein ‘the covenant of works;’ and, for

the same reason, the soldiers were slow to obey their officers, and go out and oppose some hostile Indian tribes, at a time when they were threatening seriously the safety of the province.

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At length, on the 30th of August, 1637, a synod, consisting of deputies from the several congregations of New England, with their ministers, was convened, to consider the eighty-two propositions which had been drawn up, as embodying all the objectionable doctrines of the Antinomians; and an unanimous sentence of condemnation was passed against them. But still the mischievous leaven continued to spread, and did not cease, until severer measures were resorted to; and the banishment of Wheelwright and others was soon followed by that of Mrs. Hutchinson herself. Wheelwright fled to New Hampshire, as has been already stated⁵⁷; but, at the end of seven years, renounced his errors, and was permitted to resume his ministerial duties, which he successfully carried on, for a long time afterwards, at Hampton. Mrs. Hutchinson, after tarrying for a while in Rhode Island, removed, with her family, into one of the Dutch plantations, where she and they were murdered by the Indians⁵⁸.

Massachusetts was disturbed afterwards by many other religious divisions, of which those caused by the Anabaptists were the most conspicuous; but, upon the consideration of these, I have not here room to dwell. The fearful history of the witchcraft delusion will be noticed hereafter.

⁵⁷ See p. 314.

⁵⁸ Neal, i. 166—178.

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Connecticut.

I now proceed briefly to survey another region, in which the growing energies of Massachusetts soon caused her influence to be felt. A band of emigrants from that province succeeded, after some difficulty, in obtaining permission from the General Court to set out in quest of fresh places of settlement, along the fertile valley of the Connecticut; and established themselves on the western bank of that river, in 1635-6. But, before their arrival, other parties from England had arrogated to themselves a share of the same territory. The Plymouth Council, for instance, had granted to Robert, Earl of Warwick, in 1630, the land extending from Naragansett river for the space of forty leagues, towards the south-west, and, within that breadth, from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and that nobleman, in the following year, had made it over to Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brook, and others⁵⁹. These proprietors, in their turn, sold portions of the land to George Fenwick; and he, with the assistance of John Winthrop, fixed a settlement at the mouth of the Connecticut, and built there a fort, called after the names of two of the chief proprietors of whom he had purchased it, Saybrook. The collision, however, which might have arisen from the

⁵⁹ Hazard, i. 318. Among the Patentees mentioned in this document, the names of John Pym and John Hampden occur, a fact confirmatory of what I have said respecting the interest which they and their political friends took in

the New England settlements, and the consequent probability of the truth of the story which has been told respecting their intended departure to that country, and their forced detention at home. See p. 21 and note.

arrival of these two different bands of settlers, at the same time, in the same territory, was avoided by the retirement of Fenwick, and the sale of his lands to the Massachusetts emigrants⁶⁰. But the title, which they thought thus to secure to themselves, was, after all, invalid; for the land, made over to Saye and Brooke, and sold by them to Fenwick, it appears, had been assigned, in 1635, by the Plymouth Council to the Marquis of Hamilton⁶¹. The settlers lived, therefore, as they best could, under a self-framed form of government, for which church-membership was not required to be an indispensable qualification, as it had been in Massachusetts. But, feeling the very questionable character of their position, they lost no time in seeking a Charter from Charles the Second, as soon as he returned to his throne, and obtained one which conferred upon them most ample privileges, and was silent with respect to religious rights⁶².

Other parties, from England and Massachusetts, New Haven. under the guidance of Hooker and various ministers, whose names are distinguished in the annals of American history, soon followed the first settlers in Connecticut; and, in 1638, the settlement of New Haven was formed, under the superintendence of

⁶⁰ Neal, i. 148, 149; Holmes, i. 288.

⁶¹ Story's Commentaries, i. 72, 73; See also 'General History of Connecticut. By a Gentleman of the Province,' 1781, pp. 9—31; and Chalmers, 288.

⁶² Story's Commentaries, i. 74—76; Holmes, i. 318. This

Charter, it is said, only conferred upon the inhabitants of Connecticut the authority of a legal corporation, and did not convey a title to the lands. Moreover, the title belonging to the Marquis of Hamilton, had never been forfeited. General History of Connecticut, ut sup.

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Davenport and Eaton. They, and their followers, came out direct from England, without authority from any patentees, and settled upon the shores of the territory lying south-west of the Connecticut river, between it and the Hudson. Their laws closely resembled those of Massachusetts, and their churches were all formed upon the model of the Independents. In course of time, the planters of this Colony stretched across the Bay, and established themselves in parts of Long Island, which was opposite to them⁶³. In some cases, it is alleged that the lands, both in Connecticut and New Haven, were purchased of the Indian sachems; but a writer, to whom I have referred more than once, asserts that the sachems, to whom the land originally belonged, had already fallen a prey to the English settlers; and that the plea of purchase was therefore fraudulently advanced. 'Possession begun in usurpation,' he continues, 'is the best title the inhabitants of Connecticut ever had, or can set up, unless they can prove that they hold the lands by an heavenly grant, as the Israelites did those of Canaan.' And this plea, he relates, was urged by Thomas Peters, brother of the celebrated Hugh, by Hooker, and by Davenport, the chief ministers, to whom the people of these settlements looked up for guidance. 'The heathen,' it was argued, 'are driven out, and we have their lands in possession; they were numerous, and we are few; therefore hath the Lord done this great work, to give his beloved rest⁶⁴!'

⁶³ Neal, i. 152.⁶⁴ General History of Connecticut, ut sup.

Whether such absurd and impious pleas were gravely maintained or not, it is certain that in no quarter did the aggressions of Englishmen against the natives of North America assume a more definite character than against those in this region. The tribe of Pequod Indians, the most numerous and formidable of any, lived upon the banks of a river, now called the Thames, twelve miles eastward of the Connecticut. Charges had been brought against them, some years before, of having murdered the crew of an English trading vessel, which had visited their shores; but from these they seem to have sufficiently cleared themselves, by pleading the necessity of self-defence. As time passed on, fresh outrages,—provoked, doubtless, by the nearer approach of the white man,—were alleged against them. The Pequods, in their danger, made alliance with the Narragansett Indians, from whom petty jealousies and quarrels had hitherto kept them dis-united. But this alliance was speedily dissolved, through the address and courage of Roger Williams. The Pequods, thereupon, had to bear, single-handed, the assault of their English neighbours; and it soon came upon them. Animated by the exhortations and prayers of their ministers, and determined to crush at once all danger which hung over them from the formidable Indians, the English, amounting to not a hundred men, attacked the enemy, who were behind their rush palisades in far superior numbers. As long as the combat was carried on hand to hand, victory was with the more numerous; but the Eng-

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lish leader suddenly cast a burning brand among the Indian wigwams. The flames then drove them forth, a helpless prey for the English marksmen; and six hundred of them, men, women, and children, thus perished upon that spot. The soldiers of Connecticut followed up the victory; fresh forces from Massachusetts joined them; and afterwards,—to use the words of Bancroft, whose tone of complacency in describing this war of extermination, seems never to be disturbed by any reflection upon its questionable character,—‘the remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding places; every wigwam was burned, every settlement was broken up, every corn field laid waste. Sassacus, their sachem, was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansetts. There remained not a sannup nor a squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequod name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man ⁶⁵’

Colonies of
New Eng-
land united,
in 1643.

The danger, thus repelled by the joint efforts of New England emigrants, did not altogether cease. Other Indian tribes looked upon their movements with jealousy and alarm, and might, upon the first favourable opportunity, assail them; and, further, there was reason to apprehend that the Dutch or French might, ere long, resent the encroachments which the

⁶⁵ Bancroft, i. 401, 402.

settlers of New England, especially those of Connecticut and New Haven, had been gradually making upon lands which they regarded as their own. The rulers of Massachusetts therefore proposed, in 1638, to the other Colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, that they should form a confederate union for their general defence; and this arrangement was finally concluded in 1643. The inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine were not permitted to join them, because their feelings were not deemed to be in entire accordance with their own; and the application of Providence and Rhode Island to be admitted into the confederacy was likewise rejected, because they refused to submit to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony. The Union, therefore, was limited only to the four already mentioned. They gave to themselves henceforward the title of 'The United Colonies of New England;' each retaining its own local jurisdiction and privileges; whilst to magistrates, annually chosen, was entrusted the management of all affairs which concerned the Union generally. No confirmation of these proceedings was sought for, or obtained, from home. On the other hand, no opposition to them, either then, or for many years afterwards, was manifested in that quarter. Neither the Long Parliament, in Charles the First's time, nor the Protector, in the zenith of his power, nor Charles the Second, upon his Restoration, made any effort to dissolve the Union. It continued in full force, until the final

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 XVI. composed it ⁶⁶.

Harvard
 College.

Whilst the deliberations were in progress which led to the formation of this Union, another work had been designed and begun in Massachusetts, which demands our warmest gratitude and admiration,—the institution of Harvard College. The resolution, indeed, to enter upon that work, and the history of the efforts made to accomplish it, form the brightest page in the early annals of New England. The formation and growth of such institutions are not ordinarily found in infant settlements. But, in the present instance, a period of ten years only had elapsed since the commencement of the colony of Massachusetts had been marked by the first few huts built at Salem; her territorial possessions were still limited to a few miles of sea-coast, which, notwithstanding the high-sounding titles of the Charter, were held only by a precarious tenure; scarcely five thousand families were yet congregated along her shores; even food, and shelter, and raiment were not to be obtained, save by hard toil and unremitting care; the Indian foe was ever watching them without, and wild fanaticism weakening their strength within; and yet, at such a time, and amid difficulties so many and so urgent, the General Court resolved to appropriate, towards the

⁶⁶ Chalmers, 177—179 and 292; ration, and the Records of the Bancroft, i. 420—422; Hazard, ii. United Colonies, are there given passim. The Articles of Confede- at length.

establishment of a school or college, the sum of four hundred pounds; 'equal,' it is said, 'to a year's rate of the whole colony.' The village of Newtown, about three miles west of Boston, was the spot chosen by them for its site; and, holding still in grateful recollection the ancient Universities of their native land, and aspiring to emulate their fame, they changed the name of the village for that of Cambridge, which it has ever since retained.

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But another name was justly conferred upon the Institution which was to arise in the new town of Cambridge; for, in 1638, two years after the passing of the resolution of the General Court, and before any definite steps had been taken to carry it into effect, John Harvard, a clergyman who had arrived from England,—having been silenced there for non-conformity,—died, and bequeathed to the future college the half of his entire property, and all his library. All ranks of men joined eagerly in the promotion of a work, towards which Harvard had thus led the way, vying with each other in the free-will offerings which they made, of money, or of goods; and so far succeeded in their efforts, that, in the autumn of 1640, the first President, Henry Dunster, entered upon the duties of his office. Of him, or of his successor in the same office, Chauncy, it is, of course, impossible to speak in this place as they deserve⁶⁷. The record of their zeal and piety, their

⁶⁷ Upon the death of Chauncy, the Presidentship is said by Orme to have been offered to the celebrated John Owen in England, and declined; but Holmes doubts the correctness of the report.

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learning and diligence, their trials and disappointments, must be looked for in the pages of those writers who have faithfully traced the progress of this Institution, from the struggles of its first origin, to the height of its present greatness⁶⁸. I will only add, that, in the early Charters for the government of Harvard College, no trace occurs of the rigorous and exclusive spirit which so strongly distinguished, in matters both spiritual and civil, the other ordinances and laws of Massachusetts. That the influence of this spirit, indeed, was neither withdrawn, nor intended to be withdrawn, is evident from the course pursued afterwards by Increase Mather, when he was President⁶⁹. Nevertheless, to meet with any one document, in the early annals of New England, not marred and blotted by the decrees of spiritual tyranny, is a fact which demands thankful acknowledgment.

Education.

Another fact also deserves to be noticed, in connexion with the institution of Harvard College; and that is, the care manifested generally by the early settlers in New England, for the education of their

Compare Orme's Life of Owen, 265, and Holmes's Annals, i. 321, note. There is no doubt, however, that, in 1663, Endicott wrote to Owen, in the name of the General Court, inviting him to succeed to the vacant office of pastor in the first Congregational church established in Boston. It is said by some, that Owen had thoughts of accepting this invitation, but was deterred by the prospect of increasing difficulties in America;

and by others, that he was stopped by an order of the Court, after some of his property had been actually embarked. *Ib.* 230—232, and Holmes, *ut sup.*

⁶⁸ The histories of Harvard University by Peirce and Josiah Quincy. I am indebted to the first three chapters of the latter work for the sketch which I have given above.

⁶⁹ Quincy's History, *ut sup.* i. 55—61.

youth. Thus, among the laws passed in 1642, it is ordered, that 'none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue.' And, again, in 1647, 'To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers,' it is ordered 'that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University'⁷⁰.

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Before I advert to the conduct pursued generally by the New England emigrants towards the aborigines of that country, and compare it with the noble devotedness of one who so well deserves the title conferred upon him, of 'The Apostle of the Indians,' I will glance for a moment at another of their body, whose name is identified with less grateful associations. In the year 1635, when the tide of Puritan emigration was at its height, the celebrated Hugh Peters arrived in Massachusetts. The story of his life had already, according to some authorities,

⁷⁰ Laws quoted by Bancroft, i. 458. Story, noticing this last law, in his Commentaries, i. 61, adds, that it 'has, in substance, continued down to the present times; and has contributed more than any other circumstance to give that peculiar character to the inhabitants and institutions of Massachusetts, for which she, in common with the other New England States, indulges an honest, and not unreasonable pride.'

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been disgraced by acts which ill accorded with the zeal which he now professed for religion. The irregularities of his youthful days, which drew down upon him the sentence of expulsion from the University of Cambridge, had been followed, it is said, by his appearance as an actor upon the stage of a public theatre. After this, having obtained admission into Holy Orders, and being appointed Lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, he was prosecuted upon a charge of adultery; and, flying in consequence to Rotterdam, became joint pastor of an English congregation in that city. Salem was the next scene of his ministerial duties; and there, the New England historians represent his career in terms which, if they are borne out by facts, must lead to the conclusion, that, either the report of his former evil life is untrue, or, else, that a change was wrought in his whole character, such as the world has very rarely witnessed. Neal, for instance, inserts his name in the list of those seventy-seven Puritan Ministers, who had been in Orders in the Church of England, and fled to North America; having, as he says, 'a better share of learning than most of their neighbouring Clergy at that time; men of great sobriety and virtue, plain, serious, affectionate Preachers, exactly conformable to the doctrines of the Church of England, and' taking 'a great deal of pains to promote a reformation of manners in their several parishes.' And, although he relates afterwards of Peters, that, upon his return to his native land, he made a great figure under the Protectorship, and 'meddling too

much in State affairs, was excepted out of the general pardon, and executed with the King's Judges in the year 1660⁷¹; yet he adds nothing which can lead the reader to suspect the existence of any of those acts of cruelty and malice with which Peters has been charged. Grahame, a modern authority, speaks also of Peters as one 'who united an enterprising genius with the warmest devotion to the interests of religion and liberty;' and asserts that 'he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example;' and, that, when he returned to the mother country, 'his race remained in the land which had been thus highly indebted to his virtue⁷².' Such testimonies are perplexing enough to any one who, anxious to ascertain the truth, turns his attention to other quarters, and finds the same man described by Clarendon as the 'ungodly confessor,' who attended the Hothams to the scaffold; by South, as a 'wretch,' and a 'reproach and scandal to Christianity;' and by Burnet, as 'an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, though a very vicious man, who had been of great use to Cromwell, and outrageous in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor;' and had 'neither the honesty to repent of' those acts which brought him to a violent death, 'nor the strength of mind to suffer for' them with that resolution which

⁷¹ Neal, i. 195—199.⁷² Grahame, i. 280, 281.

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distinguished his companions⁷³. The probability is, that,—being, to use the words of Bancroft, a man whose ‘fanaticism’ was that ‘of an ill-balanced mind, mastered by great ideas, which it imperfectly comprehended⁷⁴’; and, as is even admitted further by Harris his biographer, who writes with an evident bias in his favour, being ‘weak, ignorant, and zealous, a proper tool for ambitious, artful men to make use of⁷⁵’,—he was often carried away to extremes which truth and holiness must alike condemn; and these excesses have been made to appear yet more hideous, through the representations made of them by men whom he once oppressed, and who, in their turn, at last regained the mastery. That he bore a prominent part in the cruel and bloody scenes which preceded and followed the King’s death, there can be no doubt. And, if Evelyn has recorded in his Diary,—a few days before that event,—that he ‘heard the rebell Peters incite the rebell powers met in the Painted Chamber to destroy his Ma^{ty}⁷⁶’; it may easily be imagined in what colours such a man would be described by the many who, sharing neither the gentleness nor wisdom of Evelyn’s spirit, shared yet his sympathies with the King’s cause. If Burke also, in a later day, could cite the

⁷³ Clarendon’s Rebellion, v. 119—121; South, iv. 222; Burnet’s Own Times, i. 290. The account in Burnet and South of Peters’ conduct upon the scaffold, it should be observed, is totally at variance with that which appears to be the more authentic report of his exe-

cut in Howell’s State Trials.

⁷⁴ Bancroft, ii. 32.

⁷⁵ Harris’s Works, i. xxxix. Ed. 1814. The other references to Harris in this work have been to the edition of 1758.

⁷⁶ Evelyn’s Memoirs, ii. 3.

language of Peters, as an example of the mischief produced by men who bring into the sanctuary of God the worst passions of secular politics, and could animadvert, in a tone of commiseration and regret, upon the impiety with which, beholding the downfall of royalty, he had dared to repeat the 'Nunc dimittis' of devout and aged Simeon, we may well understand to what extremities of indignation other men might be hurried, who treasured up in their memories the sayings of this same man, and reviewed them not in the spirit of the philosophic statesman⁷⁷. The sacredness of his profession, they would regard, as stamping a deeper brand of infamy upon every act and word of his which offered violence to it. Upon the chaplain and the companion of Cromwell, would fall the heaviest burden of that odium which made both the person and office of the Protector so abominable in the eyes of the great mass of the Royalists. His wit would be called buffoonery; his zeal, hypocrisy; his quickness, cruelty; and, whilst coarse and vulgar satirists held him up to ridicule⁷⁸, his death by the hands of the public executioner would be looked upon, by those who with a calmer spirit contemplated it, as a punishment righteously inflicted upon not the least guilty of the regicides. Nevertheless, it is but justice to the memory of

⁷⁷ Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. Works, v. 40 and 132, 133. It is evident, from the last of these passages, that the case of Peters was regarded with compassion by Burke. 'They

dealt (he says) at the Restoration, perhaps, too hardly with this poor good man.'

⁷⁸ Granger's Biog. Hist. iii. 53—55.

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Hugh Peters to state, that, in the testimony which he left with his daughter,—entitled, ‘A dying Father’s last legacy to an only child,’—he has solemnly denied the accusations brought against him; and, although the testimony of a witness in his own behalf cannot be received as proof of his innocence, yet the language employed by him upon the other subjects there treated of, exhibits the most touching evidences of an earnest, affectionate, and pious spirit.

Bishop
Lake.

One passage in the above treatise deserves particularly to be mentioned; because it is a rare instance of the grateful and kindly feelings which, notwithstanding all the bitterness of those sad times, were still cherished and expressed by a Puritan towards a Bishop of our Church. Speaking to his daughter of the colonization of New England, Hugh Peters distinctly states that his ‘friend Mr. White of Dorchester, and *Bishop Lake*, occasioned, yea, founded that work, and much in reference to the *Indians*, of which (he says) we did not fail to attempt, with good success to many of their souls.’ And then, referring her to a Sermon of Bishop Lake for proof of his assertion, he adds that that prelate had ‘profest to Mr. White, that he himself would have gone with them but for his age⁷⁹.’ The Sermon in question will be found in the folio copy of the Bishop’s works, published in 1629. It was preached before Charles the First and the House

⁷⁹ A dying Father’s, &c. ut sup. Lake occurs in Francis’s Life of 101. The same notice of Bishop Eliot. Amer. Biog. v. 36.

of Lords, on a Fast Day, at the beginning of that King's reign, July 2, 1625. Its text is 1 Kings viii. 37; and the following passage, towards the conclusion, shows the feeling with which Lake regarded the duties consequent upon the growing relations of England with other countries: 'Neither is it enough for vs to make much of it [the possession of Christian truth] for our own good, but also wee should propagate it to others. And here let me tell you, that there lieth a great guilt vpon Christian States, and this amongst the rest, that they haue not been carefull to bring them that sit in darknesse and in the shadow of death to the knowledge of Christ and participation of the Gospel. Much traouelling to the Indies, East and West, but wherefore? Some go to possesse themselues of the lands of the infidels, but most by commerce, if by commerce, to grow richer by their goods. But where is the Prince or State that pitieth their soules, and without any worldly respect endeauours the gaining of them unto God? some show we make, but it is but a poore one; for it is but *πάρεργον*, an accessorie to our worldly desire; *ἔργον* it is not, it is not our primarie intention. Whereas Christ's method is, Matt. vi. 33, "First seeke ye the kingdome of God, and then all other things shall be added unto you." You shall fare the better for it in your worldly estate. If the Apostles and Apostolicke men had affected our saluation no more, we might have continued till this day such as sometimes we were, barbarous subjects of the prince of darknesse.

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‘Those of the Church of Rome boast of their better zeale for the kingdom of Christ; but their owne histories shew that ambition and covetousnesse haue beene the most predominant affections that haue swayed their endeauours, and they haue with detestable cruelty made their way to those worldly ends, and instead of sauing soules have destroyed millions of persons. We should take another course for their conuersion, yea the same that was taken for ours; and if wee doe, it is to be hoped God will continue vs his people, and adde daily to his Church such as shal be saued⁸⁰.’

The Bishop of our Church, who thus gave utterance to these words, is one who deserves to be held in grateful memory. He was brother of Sir Thomas Lake, Principal Secretary of State under James the First. Educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, he was at a later period of his life elected, first, a Fellow of the former College, and, next, Warden of the latter. Other preferments also were afterwards, in succession, held by him, namely, the Mastership of St. Cross Hospital, the Archdeaconry of Surrey, and the Deanery of Worcester; and, in 1616, he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. ‘In all these places of honour and employment,’ Wood states that ‘he carried himself the same in mind and person, showing by his constancy that his virtues were virtues indeed; in all kind of which, whether natural, moral, theological,

⁸⁰ Bp. Lake's Sermons, &c. Part ii. 217.

personal, or pastoral, he was eminent, and, indeed, one of the examples of his time. He was also well read in the fathers and schoolmen (which made him one of the best preachers), that few went beyond him in his time⁸¹. Another biographer describes him as continuing 'the same in his Rotchet as in his Scholler's gowne⁸²;' a man of singular holiness, and charity, and generosity; a laborious and successful preacher; yielding to no man in his love of peace, but a lover of truth yet more. He died in 1626; and was succeeded by Laud, at that time Bishop of St. David's.

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That Lake had no sympathy with the disaffected Puritans,—as some might imagine, who look only to his reputed friendship with White of Dorchester, or to the terms in which he is spoken of by Hugh Peters,—is evident from the high commendation bestowed upon him by Wood. It might be yet further proved, if time and space permitted it, from materials supplied in his own published works, particularly, his ten Sermons preached on particular occasions, and published in a separate Volume. The language of his last Will is another witness to the same effect; for he there says, 'I desire to end my life in that faith, which is now established in the Church of

⁸¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 399.

⁸² *Short View of Bp. Lake's Life*, prefixed to his works. It is anonymous, but the author was Dr. John Harris, elected Warden of Winchester in 1630. He shared not the same feelings in Church

matters with the prelate whose character he so much admired; but, siding with the Presbyterians, became a member of the Assembly of Divines, and so held his Wardenship until his death in 1658. *Wood's Athen. Oxon.*, iii. 455.

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England, whereof I am a member, and have been, by God's blessing, well nigh thirty years a Preacher; and my soul's unfained desire is, that it may ever flourish and fructify in this kingdom, and in all his Majestie's Dominion, and from thence be propagated to other countries which sit in darkness and the shadow of death, whether infidels or heretics²². It is remarkable, that, in this dying expression of his love for the Church of England, the good Bishop should have had her still present to his mind, bearing that very aspect in which he rejoiced so much to contemplate her, namely, as an instrument to propagate, among the countries of the heathen, the blessed truths of which she is the witness and keeper. It shows that his last thoughts and prayers were still directed towards the fulfilment of that mission, in which he was so anxious, had it been possible, to have borne a part in his own person, and so strenuous in urging upon others who stood in the high places of the earth. That his prayers should have been hindered, and the work, which he thus desired to forward, marred, by the outbreak of the grievous contentions, to which such frequent reference has been made, is a fact which casts a deeper shade of sorrow over these humiliating records. The strength, which might and ought to have been brought to bear with concentrated force upon enterprises which needed the combined prayers and efforts of all, was utterly wasted by disunion. The rulers of our Zion, through

²² Short View, &c. ut sup.

their severity, had driven out some of her holiest children from her borders; and they, in their turn, were so blinded with indignation against the persons of their oppressors, as to triumph in the overthrow of all authority which of right belonged to their office⁸⁴. Meanwhile, the truth was neglected more and more, as the unhappy strife went on; and none of those acts of charity,—which it was her high prerogative to have exercised among the inhabitants of heathen lands,—were for a long time attempted by her professed disciples who resorted to New England.

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It is but justice to the Massachusetts emigrants, to state, that, when they first went out thither, they were so far mindful of that which had been set forth in their Charter, as the principal end of their plantation, as to insert it among the articles of that covenant which, we have said, was drawn up and subscribed by them, upon their settlement at Salem. The Charter, it may be remembered, had declared that end to be the winning and inciting 'the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith⁸⁵.' And, as another witness in furtherance of the same end, the device upon the seal of the Massachusetts Colony was an Indian with

Conduct of
New Eng-
land emi-
grants to-
wards the
Indians.

⁸⁴ Few passages are to be found in which this hatred of Puritans against the Episcopal Order is expressed in more awful terms, than in Bradford's MS. history of Plymouth Colony, of which he was the first governor. The bitterness of his rancour upon hearing of the downfall of the Bishops, is only

equalled by the falseness of his prophecy that they should never be restored. Prince's Annals of New England are chiefly compiled from this MS., which is now in the possession of the Bishop of London.

⁸⁵ See p. 310.

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a label at his mouth, containing the words "Come over, and help us ⁸⁶." In accordance, then, with such testimonies, these words appear in the Covenant: 'We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace; both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel, as need shall be; *not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote*; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil ⁸⁷.' But their acts agreed not with their words. We have seen how frequently and openly these laudable resolutions were violated in regard of those that were 'within;' and the evidence is not less clear, to show that they were for many years neglected also in regard of those that were 'without.' Massasoit, indeed, the most powerful sachem of the Indian tribes, upon whose land the colonists of New Plymouth made their first settlement, had performed many offices of kindness; and not only entered into an alliance with them, but acknowledged allegiance to King James, and granted unto the planters such lands as they required. Other chieftains followed his example: and thus, a favourable and early opportunity was offered to the English of extending to the

⁸⁶ Life of Eliot. Amer. Biog. v. 37, note. It is not stated whether this seal was coincident with the above Charter; but, as the biographer of Eliot describes them both at the same time, it probably was.

The same device, with a slight alteration, it will be seen hereafter, was adopted as the seal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

⁸⁷ Magnalia, B. i. p. 18.

Indians the benefit which they professed themselves so desirous to give. But,—not to dwell now upon the obvious fact, that they could only have gained such concessions from the native sachems, by taking advantage of their ignorance, or of their necessities,—the early annals of New England are wholly silent in regard of any systematic efforts made by her people for the spiritual improvement of its aboriginal inhabitants. Many instances are recorded in which alarm and suspicion were awakened in the minds of the English against them, and sometimes, as in the case of the Weymouth settlement, open quarrels and bloodshed ensued. They were quick in observing and ascertaining the meaning of any act, upon the part of the Indians, which portended danger; and dexterous in explaining to them, by like symbols, their own determination to retaliate. Thus, when a messenger arrived in their plantations from the chief of the Naragansett tribe, with a bundle of arrows wrapped up in a snake's skin,—a token, it was said, of war,—they forthwith struck terror into the hearts of those who sent it, by returning some powder and ball tied up in the same snake's skin. But in vain do we seek for evidence of any avowed and formal efforts of the English, at this time, to make known, either by word or sign, unto the Indians the power of the Gospel of Christ⁸⁸. The two or three instances which are reported of the conversion of individual natives, it is admitted, 'were incidental cases,' and 'not resulting from systematic

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⁸⁸ Neal, i. 87—102.

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efforts on the parts of' the Pilgrim 'fathers.' 'O that you had converted some, before you killed any,' writes Robinson, their former pastor at Leyden, to the governor of Plymouth. The biographer of Eliot tries to vindicate the first settlers in New England from the censure which the expression of such a wish cast upon them, by pleading their necessities and ignorance of the Indian character⁸⁹. Doubtless, these causes may have had their influence. But he has omitted to refer to others, which are distinctly enumerated by Lechford, and show that the early neglect of the Indians by the Puritan emigrants is, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the principles which they themselves avowed. 'There hath not been,' he says,—writing, as we have seen, in 1641,—'any sent forth by any church to learne the natives' language, or to instruct them in the religion. First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English. Secondly, some say out of Rev. xv. 8, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, till the calling of the Jews; "till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter in the temple," that is, the Christian Church; and the "seventh vial" is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, because all churches among them are equall, and all officers equall; and so, betweene them, nothing is done that way. They must all therefore equally bear the blame; for indeede I can

⁸⁹ Life of Eliot, ut sup. 37, 38.

humbly conceive, that, by their principles, no nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if so,' CHAP.
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But a brighter page in the annals of New England now claims our attention, namely, that which records the piety and zeal of John Eliot, 'the Apostle of the Indians.' Most cheerfully do I award to him this honoured title. Nor shall the feeling of deep sorrow,—excited by the reflection that such a man was separated, by the adverse circumstances which this history forces so constantly upon our minds, from the Church in whose bosom he was nurtured,—prevent me from acknowledging, with gratitude and admiration, the course of his arduous and successful labours. Born at Nasing, in Essex, in 1604, of parents whose watchful piety was the instrument through which, he relates, his 'first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word, and prayer,' he repaired to the University of Cambridge, and there practised himself in those intellectual exercises, and gained those stores of learning, which paved the way for the duties upon which he afterwards entered in America. He was early associated with the nonconformists; and his intimacy with Hooker, afterwards one of the most distinguished ministers of that body in New England,—whose friendship he had acquired by assisting him in the duties of a school which he once conducted at Little Baddow,—led him to make that same region the

⁹⁰ Lechford's Plain Dealing, 21.

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scene of his future career. That he had entered into Holy Orders in the Church of England before he left home, is evident from the insertion of his name in the list given by Neal of the emigrant clergy, to which I have referred above. On his arrival at Boston, in 1631, he is described as 'a well-qualified minister,' and 'preacher,' and, on that account, was called to undertake those duties in a church in that place, which governor Winthrop and two other laymen were then discharging, in the absence of Wilson, its pastor. In the following year, he removed to Roxbury, where many of his countrymen and friends had settled, with whom he had before promised to enter into the relation of pastor, as soon as the opportunity might arrive. His marriage took place that same year⁹¹.

I pass over with a brief notice the next twelve years of Eliot's life, merely observing, that the most prominent public acts recorded of him during that period, were, first, the censure which he passed upon the terms of a treaty made by the rulers of New England with the Pequod Indians, which gave the former great offence; and, next, the service which he rendered to them by exposing the mischief that arose out of the promulgation of the Antinomian tenets by Mrs. Hutchinson. Meanwhile, he was calmly, yet diligently, preparing himself for his great work of preaching the Gospel to the Indians, by learning their language⁹². He is said to have

⁹¹ Life of Eliot, 1—11.

⁹² Ibid. 14—44.

devoted two years expressly to this object; forming first of all,—through the medium of oral communication with an Indian servant who knew a little of the English language,—an acquaintance with those strange, uncouth words, which have no affinity with or derivation from any known European tongue, and, according to the quaint description of Cotton Mather, appear to have ‘been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended;’ then, singling out some noun, or verb, and pursuing it through all its variations, until he arrived at certain general rules, by a careful comparison and analysis of which he was enabled, several years afterwards, to draw up a grammar of the Indian language. ‘Prayers and pains through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing,’ are the words of pious acknowledgment which he wrote at the end of his grammar, when he had finished it; and, with this unquestioning trust in a strength mightier than his own, he set out, in 1646, to preach the Gospel to the Indians⁹³.

His first attempt to ‘bridle, restrain, and civilize’ the Indians who lived in the vicinity of Roxbury, was not successful. ‘They gave no heed to it,’ he relates, ‘but were weary, and rather despised what I said.’ But, afterwards hearing that some of them had expressed a desire ‘to be all one with Englishmen,’ he told them that this unity would be effected, if they would pray and serve God as the English did, and labour also like them. He offered to ‘come

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⁹³ Magnalia, B. iii. 193.

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to their wigwams, and teach them, and their wives and children,' the means through which this could be done, if they were willing to hear him; and, having received their consent, 'from that day forward,' had 'not failed to doe what he could for their welfare'⁹⁴. The Indians of Noonanetum,—in whose land Newton and Watertown are now built,—were the first whom Eliot visited; and the text of his first Sermon was that appropriate passage of the prophecy of Ezekiel, which relates the command given unto him to bid the wind breathe upon the dry bones of the valley; and, that, the breath coming "into them, they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army"⁹⁵. He describes his usual exercise among them as directed to four main points, besides that of prayer, namely, catechizing, preaching, censuring them, and answering their questions. With respect to the first of these, he states,—in his letter quoted below, and written in the year after he had begun his ministrations among them,—that the Indian children and youth were expert, being able to say readily all that he had taught them respecting the commandments, the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ; and

⁹⁴ Eliot's Letter to Shephard, contained in a tract published by the latter in 1648, and entitled 'The clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians,' &c. p. 17.

⁹⁵ Ezekiel xxxvii. 9, 10. This Sermon was preached in the wigwam of an influential Indian, named Waban, or Waubon, which is also

the Indian word for 'wind.' And, although Eliot had no intention of making any application of the meaning of this name to the subject matter of the text, yet the singular coincidence was remarked by some of the Indians, 'into whom this their Waban first breathed encouragement' to embrace Christianity. *lb.* 33.

that even the aged people, by the frequent repetition of the truths which they heard, were enabled to teach them to their children at home. In his preaching, he tells us that he studied 'all plainness and brevity,' and that 'many were very attentive.' The office of censor was discharged by him with strictness, and yet with such tenderness as to melt the offender, upon some occasions, even into tears. But the particulars, detailed by Eliot, of the various instances in which the hearts of his Indian disciples were thus touched, as well as of those which relate to the fourth division of his allotted exercise among them, namely, the answers returned by him to the questions which they asked,—although full of interest and instruction,—it is impossible to place here before the reader in a condensed form. In the works above referred to, and in the various tracts by Eliot, Mayhew, Winslow, Shephard, and Whitfield, upon the same subject, they will be found related at length⁸⁶.

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Besides all this, Eliot taught the Indians agriculture, and various kinds of handicraft, supplying the men with spades, and mattocks, and crows of iron, and the women with spinning wheels, which each were willing to employ. Habits of industry were thus created among them; and the Indians were seen not only bringing fruit, and fish, and venison,

⁸⁶ The above tracts are contained, in their original form, in Bishop Kennett's Collection, in the possession of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. They have also lately been republished by the Massachusetts' Historical Society.

and implements of their own manufacture to the English markets, but also joining with English labourers in the work of hay-time and harvest. These were but the beginnings of an orderly and civilized mode of life, which Eliot thankfully acknowledged as the earnest of better things. 'Old boughs,' to use his own words, 'must be bent a little at once; if we can set the young twiggs in a better bent, it will bee God's mercy.'

Whilst we thus notice the commencement and progress of Eliot's labours among the Indians, it is important to remark that his zeal for his own people at Roxbury, and for his countrymen in the neighbouring plantations, seems to have been quickened all the more. Cotton Mather, for example, speaking of the efforts which he made to promote the effectual instruction of his flock, states, that a 'grammar school he would always have in the town that belonged to him, whatever it cost him; and he importuned all other places to have the like. I can't forget,' he adds, 'the ardour with which I once heard him pray, in a synod of these churches which met at Boston to consider how the miscarriages which were among us might be prevented; I say, with what fervour he uttered an expression to this purpose, "Lord, for schools every where among us! that our schools may flourish! that every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives, that, before we may die, we may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation of

the country." God so blessed his endeavours,' continues Mather, 'that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town; and the issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the title of Schola Illustris upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college, and then for the public, than any town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness, in New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there have run a large number of the streams, which have made glad this whole city of God ⁹⁷.'

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Of the sympathy and assistance which Eliot received from home, whilst he was striving to promote the welfare of the Indians,—especially that manifested by the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among them,—I will speak hereafter. At present, looking only to the course of his own personal ministrations among the natives of the American continent, the fact must not be overlooked, that, amid many encouraging signs of success, he had to encounter oftentimes the strenuous opposition of some for whose welfare he thus diligently and affectionately laboured. The chief cause of this opposition was the open warfare which, by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, Eliot necessarily proclaimed against the superstitious practices of the Indian powaws. These men, by the charms and incantations which they pretended to exercise, maintained

⁹⁷ Magualia, iii. 187.

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a strange dominion over the souls and bodies of many of their countrymen, who believed that they had power to drive away, or retain, diseases; that they held intimate communion with the invisible world of spirits; and that the weapons of the most formidable foes fell harmless beneath their influence. The Indian sachems had been, of course, not slow to make such agency an instrument to promote their own ambitious or cruel purposes; and, since Christianity demonstrated the whole scheme to be a shameful fraud, and all the frantic howlings and dancings wherewith the people invoked its protection, to be the expression only of idle and superstitious fears, it was not difficult to foresee that this exposure would provoke now, as it had provoked in other ways aforesaid, the wrath alike of the craftsmen whose trade it endangered, of the rulers whose power it controlled, and of the people whose weakness it condemned. This result was soon manifested in the ill treatment which 'the praying Indians,' as they were called, met with from many of their brethren, and in the threats of personal violence denounced against Eliot himself. But Eliot, nothing daunted, strove the more earnestly to gather his disciples together into a safe habitation of their own; and, in 1651, succeeded in removing them from Noonanetum, which had been the first scene of his labours, to a spot upon the banks of Charles River, about eighteen miles to the south-west of Boston; and there laid the foundation of a town,

which was called, in the Indian language, Natick, or 'a place of hills'⁹⁸.

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Eliot framed for the inhabitants of this new settlement a form of government, according to the model of that proposed by Jethro unto Moses for the Israelites⁹⁹; by which the whole people were divided into portions of tens, and fifties, and hundreds; and rulers, elected by themselves, were set over each. Solemn religious services marked the first institution of this government. In a few weeks afterwards, Endicot, the governor of Massachusetts, and Wilson, one of its chief pastors, came over to Natick, and satisfied themselves of the success which thus far had attended Eliot's design. They surveyed the bridge, which the Indians had already built over the river; the houses, which were fast rising up beneath their hands in the three streets marked out along its banks; and the various evidences of ingenuity and labour, displayed in the articles of their own manufacture. They heard, too, the Indian schoolmaster read, line by line, a psalm which Eliot translated, and which was sung by the men and women who were present; and Eliot himself pray, and preach, and catechize in the Indian language. They carefully examined all the plans which he had still in contemplation for the improvement of his people; and returned to Boston, full of wonder and hope at the things which they had seen and heard. The work continued to spread. Other towns were designed

⁹⁸ Eliot's Life, ut sup. 152—162.

⁹⁹ Exod. xviii. 13—26.

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for the reception of 'the praying Indians;' and, among the young men who had been trained under Eliot's own superintendence, some were already found fit to be selected by him for the discharge of missionary duties among their brethren. But the work did not thus go forward, without experiencing many checks and hindrances. Sometimes, imputations of disaffection to the English were falsely cast upon 'the praying Indians;' at other times, the misconduct of individual members of their body laid upon them the heavy burden of a real reproach; and, when the tidings of the latter reached England, they gave a specious pretext to the many who, at all times, and under all circumstances, are glad enough to find, in the alleged failure of missionary enterprises, an excuse for their own refusal to co-operate. Hence, Eliot was led to exercise a more than ordinary circumspection, before he brought his disciples into that form of religious organization which he thought the best; and, it was not until the year 1660, that he admitted the Indians of Natick into what was called church-covenant.

The limits, which I have prescribed to myself in the present chapter, might here lead me to postpone the consideration of the sequel of Eliot's career. But, as this would be obviously an inconvenient course, I will now place it before the reader, as briefly as I can; observing only that the period of the Restoration, to which the story of his life has now brought me, is one of the very few in which the conduct of Eliot seems to have received, or to have deserved,

any public censure. The censure in question was provoked by the publication of a work, written by him, and entitled 'The Christian Commonwealth,' which the Governor and Council of Massachusetts declared to be full of the most pernicious principles towards all established governments, especially the government established in their native country. The authorities of New England were most desirous, as we shall see presently, to propitiate, at this particular juncture, the favour of the restored monarch; and from this cause, probably, were led to pass a more stringent censure upon Eliot's treatise than they would have otherwise thought it necessary to have done. Indeed, his biographer expressly states it as his opinion that this disapproval of the work was an act 'of state policy;' and, that, 'had it been received in New England during the ascendancy of the Republicans, it would have probably incurred no censure.' It is impossible now to determine how far this opinion is likely to be correct; for it is said that not a single copy of Eliot's 'Christian Commonwealth' exists. All that we know is, that he publicly retracted the work which had provoked such grave censure; offered no defence of the expressions or sentiments to which objection had been taken; and expressed himself ready to maintain principles the very opposite of those which had been imputed to him therein. In the absence, therefore, of the necessary evidence, it will be right to abstain from offering any judgment with respect to the motives which directed Eliot upon this occasion.

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His great work of translating the Holy Scriptures into the Indian language, is the next point which demands attention. It had long been occupying his time and thoughts; but the prospect of its publication was, for many years, too far removed to admit the hope of being realized. It seemed as if all the knowledge of the Sacred Volume, which Eliot could leave behind him, was to be limited to those passages which, by frequent oral repetition, he had impressed upon the minds of the Indians. But, at length, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, of whose institution I have before made mention, resolved to undertake the expense of printing the New Testament. The types, and press, and other materials necessary for the work, having been sent out from England to America, it was forthwith begun in that country, under the superintendance of Eliot, and completed soon after the Restoration. Upon receiving intelligence of the confirmation of the Society's Charter, in the early part of Charles the Second's reign, the printing of the Old Testament was begun. In 1663, the whole work was completed; and a Catechism, and the Psalms in Indian verse, were added. The edition is said to have consisted of fifteen hundred copies; and assistance is reported to have been expected from, and probably was given by, Sion College. But the great and animating spirit at home, by which energy was communicated to this and other kindred works, at this time, was Robert Boyle; and the correspondence, carried on between him and Eliot, upon the various

subjects so dear to both of them, is one of the most cheering facts which we are permitted to contemplate in an age so unhappily conspicuous for its religious feuds.

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In 1680, a second edition of the Indian New Testament was printed; and a second of the Old, in 1685. These were the last; for the language is now extinct. It is, indeed,—as the biographer of Eliot has remarked,—‘a thought full of melancholy interest, that the people for whom it was designed, may no longer be considered on the roll of living men.’ Had this thought been present to the mind of the translator, it might have relaxed the strength of his zeal, and cast a shade over the hopes of his declining years. But, labouring as he did for the men among whom he lived, he knew not what it was to falter or grow weary. In 1664, when he was sixty years of age, he published an Indian translation of Baxter’s ‘Call to the Unconverted.’ Fourteen years after this, we find him publishing an English Harmony of the Gospels. Again, in 1685, when he was past his eighty-first year, he published an Indian translation of Boyle’s ‘Practice of Piety;’ and, three years later still, in a letter to Boyle, Eliot requests him to assist the printing of two other small tracts, which he had translated some years previously. The course of such studies had naturally led Eliot, from the first, to draw up, in a formal shape, the rules and observations which he had been compelled to make for his own use; and, having thus put together the materials of an Indian

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Primer, and afterwards of an Indian Grammar, he published them. The latter appeared in 1666.

Occupied thus with labours, which he seems to have prosecuted with as much vigour in the evening, as in the noon-day, of his long life, he could reckon up, in the province of Massachusetts alone, not less than fourteen towns of 'praying Indians,' containing eleven hundred inhabitants; and, in Plymouth, and Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, were many more settlements, under the care of other ministers. The gross amount of their population, including those before reckoned, was between three and four thousand. The disastrous war with the celebrated Indian chief Philip, which broke out in 1675,—and which will be noticed hereafter,—gave indeed a grievous blow to the hopes of Eliot and his disciples; and the spirit of exasperation against the Indians, which the progress of Philip's war created, at times vented itself even against the person of their venerated father in the faith. But he swerved not from the line of patient and stedfast duty. Although the villages of his dear people were, in many places destroyed,—insomuch that, as he states in a letter to Boyle, the places of their assembling for public worship in Massachusetts were speedily reduced to four;—although the bonds of confidence and peace among the surviving inhabitants were sorely injured, he still watched over them and comforted them; courageously defending them against false accusers; and earnestly striving to build up again, in faith and hope, the breaches which men's violent passions had made

among them. When the war was brought to an end, and the much-dreaded Philip was no more, Eliot was distinguished by the zeal with which he sought to repress the cruel practice which then sprang up of selling the Indian prisoners into slavery. He writes to Boyle, in 1683, entreating him to exert his interest for the deliverance of some of these poor captives, whom he heard had been sent to Tangier, and to secure to them the means of returning home; adding, 'I am persuaded that Christ will at the great day reckon it among your deeds of charity done for his name's sake.'

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And thus, even to the last hour of his existence, 'the Apostle of the Indians' sustained, with un-deviating constancy, the duties of his high and holy calling; and when, as he confessed, the powers of his understanding, and memory, and speech were failing him, he could yet bless God that his charity held out still, and rather grew than failed. He still preached to his disciples, once every two months, although bowed down beneath the burden of fourscore and three years. The clouds which for a time had hung over the villages of his Indian converts gradually dispersed; he was cheered by the conviction that his labour among them had not been in vain; and, in one of his latest letters to Boyle,—in which he speaks of himself as drawing near his home,—he adds the expression of his joy, that, at such a moment, he could take leave of his honoured friend with thankfulness. He died on the 20th of May, 1690; and the last words which

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trembled upon his lips, were repeated exhortations to prayer, and the exclamation, 'Welcome, joy¹⁰⁰!'

Let us trust that words such as these, uttered at such a moment, by such a man, were an earnest of the blessing stored up for him amid "the spirits of the just men made perfect, the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven¹⁰¹."

Society for
Propagating
the Gospel
in New
England,
established
in 1649.

I have said, in the above notice of the life of Eliot, that the quarter, from which he derived the means of publishing his translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Indian language, was the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England. It was established by an ordinance of the Long Parliament, July 27, 1649, with power to receive and to apply monies for the purposes therein set forth. A general contribution also was required, under the same authority, to be made throughout England and Wales; and ministers were directed to read it before their several congregations, and to exhort them to promote by their offerings the work proposed. The Universities, moreover, issued public letters to the same effect; and, last of all, the appeal was extended to the army, beneath whose power, at that time, all other authorities in the land bowed down. From these several sources,—notwithstanding the miserable condition into which England was thrown by the Civil War so long raging within her borders, and not

¹⁰⁰ Eliot's Life, ut sup. 162—335; Magnalia, iii. 181—209.

¹⁰¹ Heb. xii. 23.

yet terminated,—a fund of considerable amount was raised; and lands were also purchased of the value of five or six hundred pounds a year, and vested in a corporation, of which Judge Steele was the first president, and Henry Ashurst its first treasurer. The readiness with which the resources of this Society were devoted to the furtherance of Eliot's labours, has just been noticed; and also the revival of its powers, under a new Charter, after the Restoration, owing chiefly to the zealous exertions of Robert Boyle¹⁰². The difficulties, which Boyle and others had to encounter, before they attained this important object, will be brought under our attention, when we come to describe more fully the conduct of that great and good man. At present, I must content myself with recording the fact, as an index of that largeness of heart and depth of sympathy which united again, in one common work of piety, those whom the divisions of that day had separated.

The manifestation of such union, it must be confessed, was rare; for the wildness of religious zeal had grown stronger by indulgence. The impatience, with which it had spurned control at home, was only equalled by its determination to exact submission from others abroad, wheresoever it had the power to do so; and hence the severities of New England's rule must ever form a prominent feature in its history. The stringent injustice of the penal enactments, made by the

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¹⁰² Eliot's Life, ut sup. 138—137. See also Scobell's Collection of Acts, Part ii. c. 45.

Severities of
New Eng-
land rule.

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General Court of Massachusetts, at an early period of its existence, has already been pointed out; and it is our duty to remark, that these were not mitigated by the lapse of time. On the contrary, by becoming more familiar with the operation of such penalties, the settlers in New England were led to regard this rigour as indispensable to the maintenance of religious truth, and to carry it to even more painful extremities. Above all, the capital error, which I have before pointed out, of pretending to govern, according to the terms of their Charter, in accordance with the laws of the mother country, whilst flagrant violation of them was committed in many important particulars, led to the most pernicious consequences. The character of these is described with great truth and power, in a remarkable pamphlet of that day, entitled, 'New England's Jonas cast up at London,' &c. It was published in 1647, by certain parties, whose names are attached to a Petition contained in it, and who thereby sought, but in vain, to remedy the evils of which they complained. They state that Massachusetts had been planted by the encouragement given in the Charter to believe that a similarity of government with that of the mother country was to be maintained in the province; but that they were unable to trace any such grounds of agreement; that 'an over-greedy spirit of arbitrary power' was ruling over all; 'the scale of justice too much bowed and unequally ballanced;' that their 'lives, liberties, and estates,' were thereby placed in jeopardy; and that the

terms of the oaths required of them, were expounded according to the will of those who imposed them, 'and not according to a due and unbowed rule of law, which is the true interpreter of all oaths to all men, whether judge or judged.' They complain further of the hardship of the enactment, to which I have before called the reader's attention, namely, that of making secular privileges dependent upon their arbitrary rules of church-membership. Hence, many, they say, were not only 'debarred from all civil employment,' who were 'well qualified,' but were not permitted 'so much as to have any vote in choosing magistrates, captains, or other civil and military officers; notwithstanding they have here expended their youth, borne the burthen of the day, wasted much of their estates for the subsistence of these poor plantations, and paid all assessments, taxes, rates, at least equal to, if not exceeding others.' Again, they assert, that there were 'divers sober, righteous, and godly men, eminent for knowledge, and other gracious gifts of the Holy Spirit, no ways scandalous in their lives and conversations, members of the Churches of England,' who were not only 'detained from the seals of the covenant of free grace,' but 'compelled, under a severe fine, every Lord's-day to appeare at the congregation,—and in some places forced to contribute to the maintenance of those ministers who vouchsafe not to take them into their flock;—that they were 'not accounted so much as brethren, nor publickely so called; nor was Christian vigilance (commanded to all) any way exercised to them.' Hence, the Petitioners declared their belief,

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that 'an ocean of inconveniences' abounded; 'dishonour to God and his ordinances, little profit by the ministry, increase of Anabaptism, and of those that totally contemn all ordinances as vain, fading of Christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, heresies, schisms,' &c.¹⁰³

If, from the consideration of these causes of complaint we turn to those arising from the oppression with which all persons, who ventured to proclaim religious opinions at variance with those of the rulers of New England, were treated by them, we shall find that the lapse of time only gave increased force to its severity. Thus, to take the case of the Quakers. The law of banishment—which, I have said, was passed in 1652, against what was called that 'cursed sect,'—was followed by another, in 1657, which provided that the offending Quaker, should, 'for the first offence, if a male,' have 'one of his ears cut off, and be kept at work in the House of Correction 'till he could be sent away on his own charges; and, for the second offence, his other ear should be cut off, and be kept in the House of Correction as aforesaid;' and, 'if a woman, then to be severely whipt, and kept as aforesaid as the male for the first offence; and, for the second, she should be alike used as aforesaid; and for every Quaker, he or she, that should a third time offend, they should have their tongues bored through with an hot iron, and be kept at the House of Correction to work 'till they be sent away at their own charge'¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ New England's Jonas, &c. 8—12.

¹⁰⁴ Neal, i. 296.

But such severities only made those against whom they were enforced more resolute in suffering them. They would rather remain in prison, than pay the fees required of them, after the period of imprisonment had expired. On one occasion, when Harris, a Quaker from Barbados, and two women,—who had been imprisoned at Boston, in 1658, for disturbing the public worship,—manifested a more than common obstinacy, the gaoler, in despair, consulted the magistrates, who ordered him ‘to whip them twice a week if they would not work, and the first time to add five stripes to the former ten, and each time after to add three more.’ But Neal acknowledges that they were not to be tamed by these methods; and that, after one of them had been almost whipt to death, in consequence of this order, the party were dismissed upon the payment of the charges by their friends¹⁰⁵. Nay, in the same year, a law was passed by the Court of Magistrates, which condemned Quakers to death, by a voice of the majority, without even the intervention of a trial by jury. The law was passed too in the Court of Deputies by a majority of one; but, afterwards, in consequence of the opposition expressed against such excessive tyranny, the trial by jury was allowed. Soon afterwards, four Quakers, three men and a woman, were actually condemned to death, and hanged in Boston, by virtue of this law. The clamour which such severities excited, not only in America but Europe, against the government of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 303.

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Massachusetts, led the magistrates to publish a declaration in defence of their conduct. It is given at length by Neal; and the weakness of its reasoning must therefore be exposed, as long as his History of New England shall be remembered. He is forced to confess that such conduct 'sullied the glory of their former sufferings from the Bishops; for now it appeared that the New England Puritans were no better friends to liberty of conscience than their adversaries; and that the question between them was not, whether one party of Christians should have power to oppress another, but who should have that power'¹⁰⁶.

With the Restoration, came a respite from such atrocious severities in New England; and an order was issued, Sept. 9, 1661, to Governor Endicott, by Charles the Second, forbidding him to proceed any further in any proceedings against Quakers, whether condemned or imprisoned; and commanding him to send them to England, together with the charges laid against them, to the end that such course might be taken with them there, 'as should be agreeable to the English laws'¹⁰⁷.

Address of
Charles the
Second.

An Address from Massachusetts to Charles the Second was even then on its way to England, which could leave no doubt that the above order would be promptly obeyed. Indeed, the only subject of astonishment is, that men who put their hands to such an Address, if they really intended all that it imports,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 306—312.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 316.

should have hesitated to obey any mandate which proceeded from their Sovereign. I subjoin the Address, in the form in which I have copied it from the original MS. in the State Paper Office, as a sample of the train of thought and language prevalent in that day.

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XVI.

‘To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of y^e Faith, &c.

‘Illustrious Sir,

‘That Majesty and Benignity both sat upon [the] Throne, whereunto your Outcast made their former Address, Witness this second Eucharistical approach unto the best of Kings, who to other titles of Royalty common to him with other Gods amongst men, delighted herein more peculiarly to conforme himselfe to the God of Gods, in that hee hath not despised nor abhorred y^e affliction of the afflicted, neither hath hee hid his face from him, but when hee cryed hee heard.

‘Our Petition was the representation of an Exile’s necessitys, this script, gratulatory and lowly, is the reflexion of the gracious rays of Christian Majesty. There wee besought your favor by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottle full of tears shed by us in this Jeshimon, here wee alsoe acknowledge the efficacy of Regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accompany’d with these Churches sitting in sackcloth. The reception of yours was y^e holding forth of the scepter of life.

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'Wee are deeply sensible of your Majestie's intimation relating to Instruments of Satan acted by impulse diabolical. Venner (not to say whence hee came to us) went out from us, because hee was not of us. God preserve your Ma^{ty} from all emissaries agitated by an infernall spirit under what appellation soever disguised. Luther sometimes wrote to the Senate of Mulhoysen to beware of the wolfe Munster.

'Royal Sir, Your just title to the Crown enthronizeth you in our consciences; your graciousness in our affections: that inspireth unto Duty, this naturalizeth unto Loyalty: thence wee call you Lord, hence a Saviour. Mephibosheth¹⁰⁸, how prejudicially soever misrepresented, yet rejoiceth that the King is come in peace to his owne house. Now the Lord hath dealt well with our Lord the King, may New England under your Royal protection bee permitted still to sing the Lord's song in this strange land. It shall bee noe griefe of heart for the blessing of a people ready to perish dayly to come upon your Ma^{ty}, the blessing of your poor people, who (not here to allege the innocency of our cause, touching which let us live noe longer than wee subject ourselves to an orderly tryal thereof) though in the particulars of subscription and conformity supposed to bee under the hallucinations of weak brethren; yet

¹⁰⁸ By this term the Court of Massachusetts had designated the Colony, in the first Address which they sent to Charles the Second, intimating thereby that its condition was as much to be pitied as that of the lame son of Jonathan. 2 Sam. iv. 4.

crave leave, with all humility, to say whether the voluntary quitting of our native and dearest Country bee not sufficient to expiate soe innocent a mistake (if a mistake) let God, Angels, y^r Maj^{ty}, and all good men, judge.

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‘ Now hee in whose hands the times and Tryals of the Children of men are, who hath made your Ma^{ty} remarkably parallell to the most eminent of Kings, both for the space and kind of your troubles, soe as that very day cannot bee excepted wherein they drove him from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying goe serve other Gods, make you alsoe (which is the Crown of all) more and more like unto him, in being a man after God’s own heart to doe whatsoever hee will. Yea, as the Lord was with David, soe let him bee with your most excellent Majesty, and make the throne of King Charles the Second both greater and better than the Throne of king David, or than the Throne of your Royal Progenitors. Soe shall always pray,

‘ Great Sir,

‘ Your Maj^{ty} most humble and loyal subjects,

JO. ENDICOTT, Gov^r,

in the name and by y^e order of y^e General Court
of Massachusetts, in New England.

‘ August 7, 1661.’

Language such as this,—proceeding from a people who had refused to admit those claims of the Long Parliament, which they thought trenched, or were likely to trench, upon the privileges of the royal

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Charter already conferred upon them; and who had therefore claimed, and obtained, from that body freedom from its jurisdiction¹⁰⁹,—might certainly have justified Charles and his counsellors in looking for more than a formal acknowledgment of his authority from his subjects in New England. Bancroft, indeed, would fain escape from the charge of Oriental adulation, brought against similar Addresses made to Charles and his Parliament, in the year of the Restoration,—and to which the reader will observe that reference is made in the document just presented to his notice,—by alleging, that, whilst their hyperbolical language was borrowed from the manners of the East, which the study of the Hebrew Scriptures made so familiar to the inhabitants of Massachusetts, the spirit which they breathed is republican. This defence, I think, could not be admitted as valid, even if the facts upon which it professes to rest were such as they are said to have been; since familiarity with the language of the Inspired Volume ought never to be made a screen to hide the contradiction between words and the sentiments which they are intended to convey. But, in the case of the second Address, of which a copy has been placed before the reader, even this excuse must be wanting¹¹⁰; for, how can the spirit of republicanism, in any sense, be said with truth to animate

¹⁰⁹ Bancroft, i. 440—443.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. ii. 71. I have not yet been able to find the second Address, of which a copy is given above, in any of the Volumes of

the Massachusetts Historical Society, although it is in Hazard, iii. 593. I have therefore been the more anxious to call attention to it here.

men, who openly acknowledge that the King's just title to the Crown entronizeth him in their consciences, and his graciousness in their affections? CHAP. XVI.

Before I close this chapter, it may be convenient to glance, for a moment, at the possessions which other European powers had acquired during this period in North America, and the consequences resulting therefrom to our own Colonies. The circumstances, under which the first settlements made in Acadia and Canada by the French, and by the Dutch in Manhattan Island, during the reign of James the First, and the collisions which then ensued between them and the English, have already been described at the end of the ninth chapter in my first Volume. I now have to observe the consequences arising from the renewal of hostilities between England and France, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, in the same regions. Both the French settlements of Port Royal and Quebec fell into the hands of the English commanders who were then ordered to attack them; but these, and the extensive provinces to which they severally belonged, were, through the dexterous policy of Richelieu, restored to France under the treaty of 1632¹¹¹.

The Dutch, having been led, in 1610, by the genius and enterprise of Hudson, to the entrance of the noble river which has ever since borne his name, conferred, a few years afterwards, upon the Amsterdam

¹¹¹ Ibid. i. 334, 335; Chalmers, 98.

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branch of their West India Company, an undefined portion of North America, to which they gave the name of the New Netherlands. In 1623, this territory was, to a certain degree, marked out by the discoveries made by their agents, and embraced the region from the south shore of Delaware Bay, to the extent of nearly five degrees northward, and along the western shore of the river Hudson. The permanent settlement of New York,—then called New Amsterdam,—of which the foundations had been before laid upon Manhattan Island, is assigned to this period. The proverbial industry and perseverance of these new settlers upon the American continent, soon gained further increase of territory and power. And,—notwithstanding the serious checks which they received in their progress from various Indian tribes, and the many intrusions which disturbed them, as they drew near to the province of Connecticut, from the emigrants of England and Massachusetts, who, we have already seen, were gathering rapidly upon those shores,—the Dutch still held on their course¹¹².

Other competitors from Europe, at the same time, started up against them,—but without any permanent success,—upon the opposite quarter to Connecticut. In 1638, a band of emigrants from Sweden and Finland, established themselves in Delaware Bay, upon land which they purchased from the natives, on the south-west border of the New

¹¹² Ibid. ii. 275—277.

Netherlands. Spreading themselves on the western bank of Delaware river, over the province now called Pennsylvania, they gave to the territory which they thus acquired, the name of New Sweden. But the power of their Dutch neighbours was too great for them. The help, which the Swedes might have received from home,—if the energy and wisdom of Gustavus and Oxenstiern had still survived to keep their European rivals in awe,—was no longer theirs; and, in little more than seventeen years from its commencement, the Colony of New Sweden surrendered to the Dutch governor Sturyvesant¹¹⁸.

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The reader will perceive in these events the growth of those jealousies and disagreements which, in a few years afterwards, led to more serious results, and made the provinces of the North American continent an arena for the repeated conflicts of European nations.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. ii. 271—297.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE COMMONWEALTH; AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AT HOME AND ABROAD, UNDER CHARLES THE SECOND.

A. D. 1648-9—1685-6.

The Commonwealth—Dissolution of the Long Parliament—And contemptuous treatment of others by Cromwell—Severities against the royalists and clergy—Archbishop Usher—The Vaudois assisted—Punishment of Naylor—Project to make Cromwell king—His design in furtherance of the Protestant religion—His death—And character—State of religion in England—Described in Edwards's *Gangræna*—By Milton—And by Baxter—Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying'—Return of Presbyterian power—The Restoration—The King's Declarations—The Savoy Conference—The Book of Common Prayer—Act of Uniformity—Ejection of Non-conformists—Other Acts of severity against them—The Roman Catholics—Condition of the Church during this reign at home—And abroad—The LEVANT—INDIA—AFRICA—WEST INDIES—Godwyn's 'Negro's and Indians' advocate—CAROLINA—Yearley and Ferrar—The first Carolina Charter 1662-3—Its provisions respecting the Church—And those not in communion with her—Drummond, the first governor of Carolina—Its second Charter, 1665—Constitutions drawn up by Locke, 1669—Provisions contained therein on the subject of religion—Locke's views respecting it—And slavery—Failure of the Proprietary Government of Carolina—Emigration of the Huguenots.

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The Commonwealth.

IN noting the events which took place in England, during and after the period which has been reviewed in the last three chapters, I intend only to describe so much of their general outline and cha-

racter as may enable the reader to perceive the influence which they had upon the future destinies of the Church in her Colonies. The Church at home, we have seen, was laid prostrate, before Charles the First fell; her sanctuaries were mutilated, and laid waste; the vessels, used in her holy services, polluted; her revenues, plundered; her ritual, abolished; her clergy, scattered abroad. The Presbyterians, foremost in working this ruin, had themselves been put down by a power stronger than their own. The Independents, whom they had refused to tolerate, had gained, by audacity and cunning, the privileges which had been denied them as a boon; but it was only to see themselves, in their turn, thrust aside by Cromwell, and by the army at his back. A remnant of the Long Parliament, indeed, still lingered on; and the reports of Cromwell's military triumphs were dispatched by him to that body as its delegated officer; but the real authority was all his own. And this he soon proved it to be. For no sooner were the cruel butcheries, which marked his campaign in Ireland, in 1649, followed, in the next year, by his victory at Dunbar, over the adherents of the second Charles, there vainly struggling for the restoration of his rights,—and that victory itself succeeded, the same day twelvemonth (Sept. 3, 1651), by the final overthrow of the royalist army at Worcester,—than Cromwell returned, brooding over ambitious schemes for the strengthening of his power, and impatient for the dissolution of Parliament.

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Dissolution
of the Long
Parliament.

Its members still clung to life, but in vain. The prowess of the British fleets,—displayed, first, as has been already stated, in the reduction of the distant Colonies of the West, and, yet more conspicuously, afterwards, by victories nearer home over the formidable armaments of the Dutch,—yielded neither security nor honour to the Legislature, under whose auspices these and other national distinctions were acquired. The day soon came, in which, having marshalled his armed soldiers in the lobby of the House of Commons, Cromwell stood up, and pronounced, with bitter reproaches, the sentence of expulsion against its members; and,—the Speaker, having been brought down from his chair, and the ‘bauble’ emblem of his authority taken away,—the doors of the emptied house were commanded to be closed; and the Long Parliament was dismissed. The Assembly of Divines, also, which had long been dwindling into insignificance, ceased in the same year (1653) to exist¹.

The work of the usurper was thus far complete. But much more remained to be done. The suspicious fears of some of his supporters, both in the army and out of it, were to be allayed; the indignant remonstrances of others were to be answered; one party was to be cajoled; another bribed; a third terrified; and, with all this, the semblance of a republic was to be maintained, and the course of legislation to be conducted through a Commons

¹ Collier, viii. 390.

House of Parliament. And Cromwell achieved this:—sometimes, indeed, not affecting to conceal his desire to magnify the kingly power which he possessed, by the name and ensigns of a king; and, at other times, dissolving Parliaments as arbitrarily as he had convened them. Thus, his strange selection, soon after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, of another assembly of political and religious fanatics, known by the name of the Barebones, or Little Parliament, was followed, after a few months' existence², by their forced surrender into his hands of the power which he had given to them; and this proceeding was, in its turn, immediately succeeded by the appointment of the Council of Officers, who solemnly invested Cromwell with the dignity of Protector. The Instrument of government, indeed, under which he was to discharge the duties of Protector, provided that a Parliament was to be called by him every three years; and that none was to be dissolved, until it had sat five months. But the writs, issued for the summoning of the very first Parliament under this Instrument, expressly excluded all persons, or their sons, who had borne arms for the King. Through another contrivance, some of the most noted republicans were likewise excluded; and, even then, a declaration, engaging those who signed it to a blind allegiance to Cromwell's authority, was afterwards resorted to, for the purpose of driving more members out of the House, and making the

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And contemptuous
treatment of
others by
Cromwell.

² From July 4 to Dec. 12, 1653.

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rest more tractable;—but, all in vain. Cromwell was still dissatisfied; and, before the prescribed period of five months had elapsed, summoned the members, with the Speaker at their head, to the Painted Chamber; and, addressing them in a strain of invective, which none but he could have uttered, pronounced their dissolution².

Severities
against the
royalists and
clergy.

And then appeared the usual consequences of oppression, namely, the outbreak of resentful feelings on the part of the oppressed. By republicans, as well as royalists, such feelings were speedily manifested; but the might of the Protector was mightier than theirs; and with ruthless hand did he exert it. His republican opponents, indeed, he was content only to conquer; they were dragged neither to the scaffold, nor to the dungeon. But to the royalists no such clemency was shown. Death was inflicted upon some, by the gibbet or by the axe; others were made to share, as we have seen, in Barbados and other foreign plantations, that cruel exile and slavery to which many, who had escaped the sword of Cromwell at Drogheda and Worcester, had already been consigned; and those who were allowed to remain in England, had to endure every variety of ignominious restraint. Against the clergy of the Church of England,—already robbed of their incomes, and driven from their parishes,—the decree was further issued, and enforced with severest penalties, that they should neither exercise in any

² Rapin, xiii. 109—111; Lingard, xi. 235.

shape the office of teacher, nor preach, nor use, in public or in private, the services of that Church of which they were ordained ministers⁴. An assurance, indeed, was given at the close of this decree, —which bears date October 4, 1655,—‘that, if any persons, since their ejection or sequestration, have given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the government’ then existing, ‘so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.’ And Burnet relates, that Cromwell had ‘begun in his latter years to be gentler towards those of the Church of England;’ and that ‘they had their meetings in several places about London without any disturbance from him⁵.’

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Archbishop Usher also may be cited as a witness to the same effect; for it is stated that Cromwell sent for him, treated him ‘with great outward kindness and civility, and consulted him upon certain plans which he was then designing for the advancement of the Protestant interest at home and abroad⁶.’ Yet, if the character of Usher’s interviews with the Protector be more closely examined, it will appear that any show of favour, which may have been exhibited towards the sequestered clergy, was regulated solely by motives of state policy. Usher was at this period Preacher of Lincoln’s Inn, having been elected to that office, in 1647, after his deprivation of the authority and

Archbishop
Usher.

⁴ Harleian Miscellany, v. 249.

⁵ Burnet’s Own Times, i. 125.

⁶ Parr’s Life of Usher, 74.

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property which had belonged to him as Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. 'During most of which sad times,' his friend and biographer, Dr. Parr, relates, that he 'kept close to his study and charge at Lincoln's Inn, utterly disowning those usurpers and their wicked actions; and still comforting the loyal party (then sufferers), that this usurpation would quickly expire, and that the King (whose right it was) would return unto his throne, though he himself should not live to see it'. When those severities, therefore, to which I have referred above, were renewed against the clergy, in 1655,—in consequence of the dangers apprehended from the returning strength of the royalists,—some of their chief members entreated Usher to intercede for them with Cromwell, and to obtain at least the same privileges which were extended to other religious bodies. Usher complied with their request; obtained an interview with Cromwell; and, with some difficulty, received a promise of their relief, provided that the clergy refrained from meddling with his government. Upon going a second time, to obtain this promise in writing, he found Cromwell under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a boil upon his breast; and, being desired to sit down, Cromwell observed to him, that, if the core of the boil were out, all would be quickly well. 'I doubt the core lies deeper,' replied the Primate; 'there is a core at the heart, that must be taken out, or else it will not be well.' 'Ah!' said Crom-

⁷ Ibid. 72.

well, 'so there is indeed;' and sighed. As soon as the object of Usher's visit came to be discussed, Cromwell said, that, having advised with his Council upon it, he found that the promised indulgence could not be granted; and so, civilly dismissed him. Usher went home to his chambers with a heavy heart; and said to Parr and some relations who came to visit him there, 'This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he hath promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the King will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may. The Government, both in Church and State, is in confusion; the Papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented⁸.'

The severities exercised under the Protectorate,—which have led me thus to notice the efforts made by Archbishop Usher to mitigate them,—were not confined to those which have been described above. Roman Catholic priests were also ordered, under pain of death, to quit the kingdom; and the laymembers of their communion, as well as all to whom the name of Cavalier was attached, were forbidden to come within twenty miles of the metropolis. And, to crown the whole, an ordinance was published, exacting the payment of the tenth part of all estates which exceeded 100*l.* a year, from those who had

⁸ Ibid. 75, 76. Usher died a few months afterwards at Reigate: and Cromwell paid to his remains the honour of a public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

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ever sided with the King during the late wars: an act of tyranny, which lost none of its gross cruelty and injustice, through the manner in which it was enforced by the eleven major-generals among whom Cromwell had divided the whole country, for the purpose of making his mastery complete⁹.

The Vau-
dois assisted.

At this stage of Cromwell's power, its greatness was as much felt by rival nations abroad as by his countrymen at home. The conclusion of a peace with Holland, and the commencement of a war with Spain, alike enabled him to enlarge the field of those distant enterprises in the West and in the East, of which an account has been given in a preceding chapter. And the protection, which he showed himself ready to extend, in the following year, 1656, to the Vaudois, amid the trials which they suffered at the hands of the Duke of Savoy, made even the proud Louis of France intercede earnestly with the Duke, that he would renew to those persecuted Protestants of Piedmont their ancient privileges, and grant them an amnesty of all the offences with which they had been charged¹⁰.

But, whilst Cromwell was thus swaying the desti-

⁹ Lingard, xi. 251, 252. Hallam justly describes this state of things as 'a despotism, compared to which all the illegal practices of former Kings, all that had cost Charles his life and crown, appeared as dust in the balance. For what was ship-money, a general burthen, by the side of the present decimation of a single class, whose offence had long been expiated by a composi-

tion and effaced by an act of indemnity? or were the excessive punishments of the star chamber so odious as the capital executions inflicted without trial by peers, whenever it suited the usurper to erect his high court of justice?' *Constit. Hist.* ii. 341.

¹⁰ Lingard, xi. 261—267. The reader needs scarcely to be reminded of the celebrated State

nies of foreign nations, the necessities of his own exchequer compelled him to convene another Parliament. And, in this, as in the former Parliaments, his determination to make all things bend to his own will was as resolutely exerted as ever. Nearly a hundred members who had been returned were prevented from taking their seats, upon alleged charges of delinquency brought against them by the Council; and, in spite of the remonstrance of the excluded members, a majority of the House was base enough to submit to such tyranny¹¹.

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It was a distinction worthy of being reserved for such an assembly, that they should have had solemnly confided to their consideration the mode in which James Naylor,—a disciple of George Fox, the celebrated founder of the Quakers,—was to be dealt with, for his alleged disturbances against the public peace. The committee, before whom he was examined, pronounced him guilty of blasphemy; and, after a debate of eleven days, the House saved him, by a narrow majority, from the sentence of death, only that he might be scourged with repeated lashings, stand twice in the pillory, be branded in his forehead, have his tongue bored through with a hot iron, be paraded through the streets on the bare back of a horse with his face to the tail, and then be cast into a solitary prison. It was meet also

Punishment
of Naylor.

Letter written by Milton, in Cromwell's name, to the Duke of Savoy. Prose Works, ii. 689, fol. ed., and his yet more celebrated sonnet, the

eighteenth, upon the same subject.

¹¹ Hallam's Constit. Hist. ii. 345.

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Project to
make Crom-
well King.

that this same Parliament,—scared by a message of the Protector, calling upon them to explain the grounds of the judicial power thus assumed in the case of Naylor,—should afterwards have adopted the project of urging upon Cromwell the title of King; and,—that measure failing at the last, not from any lack of inclination on his part or theirs, but from the sturdy opposition of his own officers,—should then have renewed to him, with augmented powers, the office of Protector, and confirmed it by the imposing ceremonies of a second inauguration¹².

His design
in further-
ance of the
Protestant
religion.

And here, I must not omit to notice a design which Cromwell is said to have formed, at this time, of establishing a Council for the avowed purpose of extending and upholding the Protestant religion throughout the world. Burnet relates it upon the authority of Stoupe, who told him that Cromwell intended that this Council should act as a counterpoise to the congregation *de propagandá fide* at Rome; and that its establishment was to have been the first act of his kingly office, had he assumed it. It was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries, for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys: the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second: Germany, the North, and Turkey were the third: and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500*l.* salary a piece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the

¹² Lingard, xi. 295, 296. Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 350, 351.

state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. They were to have a fund of 10,000*l.* a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasions should require it. Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building¹³.

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How far Cromwell had matured this design, or prepared the way for commencing the operations connected with it, there are no means now left to determine. But the bare entertainment of such a project was a noble thought. Let the rulers of our Church consider if it be not their duty now to look abroad upon the vast possessions of our Colonial empire with the same high and comprehensive purposes, and strive, with God's help, to carry them onward to a glorious issue.

In the Articles of the Act, which invested Cromwell with the ampler prerogatives now secured to him, was one which provided that the Parliament, which was to be called once in a year at farthest, should consist of two Houses. A direct approximation was herein made to the ancient form of the British constitution, and openly avowed in the second session of the new Parliament, 1657-8, by the title, which 'the other House' then assumed to itself, of the House of Lords. But the House of Commons,—having, at the same time, received into the number of its members those who had been excluded in the former Parliament,

¹³ Burnet's Own Times, i. 141.

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and who were now protected, by the above Act, from a liability to the same exclusion,—refused to acknowledge the assumed privileges and titles of this newly-fashioned branch of the Legislature. The disputes and difficulties arising out of this state of things, it was impossible to remove or mitigate by any of the ordinary modes of proceeding. But Cromwell settled them in his own way; and, going suddenly to the House, and charging the Commons with being the cause of all the dangers which then threatened the country, pronounced the dissolution of both assemblies ¹⁴.

His death.

But he, who had thus the boldness and the energy to break down, for the fourth time, the authority of Parliaments, could neither repress the secret nor open machinations of the enemies whom his despotic acts goaded to resistance, nor the daily and nightly terrors with which the apprehension of their vengeance haunted him. It availed not that the foremost potentates of Europe, in the eagerness with which they paid court to him, bore homage to the ability and success which distinguished his foreign policy. At the very moment in which their desire to propitiate his favour was the greatest, and Dunkirk,—which he had been striving for two years to obtain,—was placed in his hands by the French monarch, Cromwell was the most sorely agitated by public cares, by domestic sorrows, and by the dread of the assassin's steel. And, amid the severest onset of such trials, his

¹⁴ Hallam, Const. Hist. ii. 358.

earthly career closed, on the 3rd of September, 1658. CHAP.
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So passed away one of the most extraordinary And character. men of that, or of any other, age:—one, whose spirit was kindled with an ardour of religious zeal, the sincerity of which it seems impiety to question, and yet capable of a dissimulation which none but the practised hypocrite could sustain; who manifested his love of justice, by the vindication of right and the correction of wrong, and yet trampled under foot the most sacred prerogatives, with the energy of a capricious tyrant; who lifted up his country amid the nations of the civilized world, by selecting, throughout every department of public enterprise, the man fitted for the office, and not the office for the man, and yet, again, depressed her to the dust, by delivering her into the hands of arbitrary and cruel agents; who cherished the tenderest affections of domestic love within his heart, as pure as though the flame of worldly passion had never scorched it¹⁵, and yet could look, unmoved, upon the most appalling scenes of tumult, and plunder, and death. I attempt not to analyze the process by which qualities so conflicting could meet together in the same man. They, who see in him the operation only of the one class, will exhibit in his portrait the most hideous features which can be depicted of human wickedness, unredeemed by a single virtue; whilst they, who keep their attention fixed only

¹⁵ See his Letters lately published by Carlyle.

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upon the other, will, in the extravagance of their admiration, describe his career as one 'bathed in the eternal splendours'¹⁶.'

State of religion in England.

Leaving to others, therefore, the well-nigh hopeless task of adjusting the balance between parties so opposite, I pass on to notice more particularly the influences which were brought to bear upon the scattered and oppressed members of our Church, and those of other religious bodies, during the period now under review. They were influences which directly and powerfully affected the national character, both at home and abroad, in the day which first saw them come into operation: they still continue to affect it in our own. And, foremost among these, was the variety of discordant opinions, and the consequent multiplication of religious sects, which, commencing with the troubled preludes of the Civil War, increased with frightful rapidity amid all the changes that followed. The proceedings of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, which have been already described, were the chief causes of this confusion. Indeed, the historian of the Puritans himself admits that 'it was undoubtedly a capital mistake in the proceedings of Parliament, to destroy one building before they were agreed upon another;' that 'the ancient order of worship and discipline in the Church of England was set aside above twelve months before any other form was appointed: during which time, no wonder sects and divisions arrived to

¹⁶ Ibid. ii. 8.

such a pitch that it was not in their power afterward to destroy them ¹⁷’

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What those sects and divisions were, and how grievous was the ruin which directly and palpably resulted from their continuance, may be best learnt from the words of one, whose testimony upon this point is above all suspicion. He had thrown himself, heart and soul, into the ranks of the Parliamentary party, from the outset; and had done and suffered, both in purse and person, in the pulpit and in the field, more than most of their adherents. The writer, to whom I refer, is Edwards, author of the ‘Gangræna.’ He acknowledges himself, in the first part of his work, to be a Presbyterian; and, in the dedication of it to Parliament, towards the end of Charles the First’s reign, he thus describes the confusion into which the whole country was plunged:—‘Things every day grow worse and worse; you can hardly imagine them so bad as they are. No kind of blasphemy, heresy, disorder, and confusion, but it is found among us, or coming in upon us. For we, instead of reformation, are grown from one extreme to another; fallen from Scylla to Charybdis; from popish innovations, superstitions, and prelatical tyranny, to damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, libertinism, and fearful anarchy. Our evils are not removed and cured, but only changed: one disease and devil hath left us, and another as bad is come into the room. You have broken down

Described in
Edwards’s
Gangræna.

¹⁷ Neal’s History of the Puritans, ii. 271.

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the images of the Trinity, Virgin Mary, Apostles; and we have those who overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity, oppose the divinity of Christ, speak evil of the Virgin Mary, and slight the Apostles. You have cast out the bishops and their officers, and we have many that cast down to the ground all ministers in all their reformed churches: you have cast out ceremonies in the sacraments, as the cross, kneeling at the Lord's Supper; and we have many who cast out the sacraments of baptism, and the Lord's Supper: you have put down Saints'-days; and we have many who make nothing at all of the Lord's-day and fast-days: you have taken away the superfluous, excessive maintenance of bishops and deans; and we have many that take away and cry down the necessary maintenance of ministers. In the bishops'-days we had singing of Psalms taken away in some places, conceived prayer and preaching, and, in their room, anthems, stinted forms, and reading, brought in; and now we have singing of Psalms spoken against, and cast out of some churches; yea, all public prayer questioned, and all ministerial preaching denied. In the bishops'-days we had many unlearned ministers; and have we not now a company of Jeroboam's priests? In the bishops'-days we had the fourth commandment taken away, but now we have all the ten commandments at once, by the Antinomians; yea, all the faith and the Gospel denied. The worst of the prelates, in the midst of many popish, Arminian tenets, and popish innovations, held many sound doctrines, and had many

commendable practices; yea, the very papists hold and keep to many articles of faith and truths of God, have some order amongst them, encourage learning, have certain fixed principles of truth, with practices of devotion and good works; but many of the sects and sectaries in our days deny all principle of religion, are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, overthrowing all; being 'vertiginosi spiritus,' whirligig spirits. What swarms are there of all sorts of illiterate mechanic preachers; yea, of women and boy preachers: what liberty of preaching, printing of all errors, or for a toleration of all, and against the Directory, Covenant, monthly fast, Presbyterial government, and all ordinances of Parliament in reference to religion?' The writer of the above dedication, enumerates, in another part of his work, no less than a hundred and seventy-six heretical and blasphemous tenets, which were the growth of that period; and speaks of some of them as 'strange monsters, having their heads of Enthusiasme, their bodies of Antinomianisme, their thighs of Familisme, their legs and feet of Anabaptisme, their hands of Arminianisme, and Libertinisme is the great vein runing thorow the whole'¹⁸.

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In the third part of his *Gangræna*,—which contains certain corollaries drawn from the statements

¹⁸ Edwards's *Gangræna*, 16. The publication of this pamphlet, in 1645, drew down a tempest of indignation upon its author; and, to meet the sundry enemies by whom he was assailed, he published, in

the next year, two more parts, which are chiefly remarkable for the host of witnesses cited by him to prove the correctness of his first statements.

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made in the preceding parts,—the same writer points out the way in which he proposed to deal with all these monstrous evils, namely, by persecuting them with unsparing hand: ‘A toleration,’ he says, ‘is the grand design of the devil, his masterpiece and chief engine he works by at this time to uphold his tottering kingdome; the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evill; a most transcendant, catholique, and fundamental evill for this Kingdom of any that can be imagined. As originall sin is the most fundamentall sin, all sin; having the seed and spawn of all in it, so a toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils; it is against the whole streame and current of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of faith and manners, both generall and particular commands; it overthrows all relations, both politicall, ecclesiasticall, and œconomicall; and whereas other evils, whether errors of judgment or practice, be but against some one or few places of Scripture or relations, this is against all; this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment, the libertie of perdition (as Austine calls it), and therefore the devil follows it night and day, working mightily in many by writing books for it, and other wayes, all the devils in hell and their instruments being at work to promote a toleration.’ And, again, ‘O let the ministers therefore oppose toleration as being that by which the devil would at once lay a founda-

tion for his kingdom to all generations, witness against it in all places, possess the magistrates of the evil of it, yea, and the people too, showing them how, if a toleration were granted, they should never have peace in their families more, or ever after have command of wives, children, servants; but they and their posterities after them are like to live in discontent and unquietnesse of mind all their days¹⁹.' CHAP.
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But it is not only in the revolting pages of By Milton. Edwards, that we see a representation of the evils which now came in like a flood upon unhappy England. Milton has described others hardly less ruinous, in his account of the Assembly of Divines, a specimen of which has already been laid before the reader in another part of this Volume²⁰. A similar expression of his indignant feelings occurs in his sixteenth Sonnet, addressed to Cromwell, in 1652, in which, after sounding the loud praises of 'Dunbar field, and Worcester's laureat wreath,' he says,

' Yet much remains
To conquer still ; Peace hath her victories,
No less renown'd than War : New foes arise
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains :
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.'

Verily, the cry for help against 'hireling wolves,' which Milton here lifted up, was not without a cause; for, as long as Presbyterianism could maintain its ground, it ruled with a rod of iron. We have seen that it was chiefly with a view to excite

¹⁹ Ibid. 121, 122. 156.

²⁰ See page 58.

the authorities to the most rigorous exercise of persecuting zeal, that Edwards published his 'Gangræna.' And another work which he wrote afterwards, showed, by its very title, namely, 'Casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan, or a Treatise against Toleration'²¹, that he continued ready to smite down to the dust every opponent.

Other celebrated divines, too, of the Presbyterian communion, Calamy and Burgess, in their discourses before Parliament, spoke of toleration only to condemn it, designating it 'as the hydra of schisms and heresies, and the floodgate to all manner of iniquity and danger,' and calling therefore upon the civil powers always to put it down²². The noxious germ from which had sprung all these bitter fruits of spiritual despotism, and which remains to this day unaltered, is to be found in one of the grave and deliberate answers drawn up by the Assembly of Divines in their Larger Catechism. It is that which specifies the toleration of a false religion as one of the sins forbidden in the second commandment²³. The impulses of passion and misdirected zeal were herein supported by an authority which gave a formal sanction to the wildest acts of outrage; and heavenly truth was degraded by the abuses committed in her name.

²¹ Before Edwards had given such a name to this work, he ought to have remembered his own condemnation of similar 'swelling titles' affixed to other treatises in his day, and his comparison of them to 'Egyptian temples, whose outsides were beautiful and glorious, having the inscription of a

deity upon them, but within, nothing but a crocodile, an ape, an onion, or some such vile, mean, creature.' *Gangræna*, 67.

²² Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, quoted in Orme's *Life of Owen*, i. 31.

²³ *Larger Catechism*, Question 110.

I cite only one witness more, to prove the evils arising out of the present condition of things in England; and it shall be no other than Richard Baxter. His affection for the Presbyterians, it is evident, would never have allowed him to bear willingly his testimony against them; and yet he is constrained to admit that some of the more rigid of them grasped 'at a kind of secular power; not using it themselves, but binding the magistrates to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicate; and so corrupting the true discipline of the church, and turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude, that must keep in the church against their wills, for fear of being undone in the world.—They corrupt the discipline of the church by mixing it with secular force; and they reproach the keys or ministerial power, as if it were not worth a straw unless the magistrate's sword enforce it;—and, worst of all, they corrupt the church by forcing in the rabble of the unfit, and unwilling, and thereby tempt many godly Christians to schisms and dangerous separations²⁴.' And 'so little sensible,' he adds in another place, 'were the Presbyterian ministers of their own infirmities, that they would not agree to tolerate those who were not only tolerable, but worthy instruments and members in the Churches, prudent men, who were for union in things necessary, for liberty in things unnecessary, and for

²⁴ Baxter's Own Life, published by Sylvester, part ii. p. 142, 143.

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charity in all ; but they could not be heard.' The historian of the Puritans, in fact, quotes this last observation of Baxter, in corroboration of his own statement, that, through the intolerant spirit of the leading Presbyterians in the Assembly and city,—who were 'enamoured with the charms of covenant uniformity and the divine right of their presbytery,'—arose those stubborn and hot 'disputes between the army and parliament which were the entire ruin of both ²⁵.'

It is the favourite subject of eulogy, indeed, with those who advocate the doctrines of the Independents, that toleration found its earliest and best supporters among the members of that body. And, certainly, the acknowledgment of the principle of toleration may be said with perfect truth to result as a legitimate conclusion from the theory which they professed. By demanding that each separate congregation should be allowed the power of governing its own members, without any interference from without, it followed that each was bound to extend unto others the liberty which it claimed for itself. But,—not now to insist upon the obvious fact that such professed independence, on the part of the several congregations, both of each other and of one governing head, was calculated to produce, as they themselves allowed, most evil consequences ²⁶, and is

²⁵ Neal's History of the Puritans, ii. 381, 382.

²⁶ A remarkable passage to this effect occurs in 'A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and

practised in the Congregational Churches in England,' and agreed upon in their meeting at the Savoy, Oct. 12, 1658. Having stated that they had not 'held any corres-

at variance with that uniformity of organization and harmony of communion which we believe to be essential characteristics of the 'one Catholick and Apostolick Church,'—the truth is that the Independents, generally²⁷, did, by their own rigorous acts, set at nought the principle which, according to their avowed theory, they ought to have held inviolate. No stronger proof can be required of this than the instances already brought under our notice, of the system pursued by them whilst in power, both in England and America.

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But, let it not be forgotten, that, whilst the history of our nation at this period presents to our view little else, either at home or abroad, than continually varying scenes of oppression, there was one—a faithful minister, and afterwards Bishop, in that

Jeremy
Taylor's
'Liberty of
Prophecy-
ing.'

pondency together,' it goes on to say, 'we allege not this, as a matter of commendation in us; no, we acknowledge it to have been a great neglect:—we confess that, from the first, every, or at least the generality of our churches, have been, in a manner, like so many ships,—though holding forth the same general colours, launched singly, and sailing apart and alone on the vast ocean of these tumultuous times; and they [have been] exposed to "every wind of doctrine," under no other conduct than the Word and Spirit, and their particular Elders and principal Brethren, *without associations among ourselves, or so much as holding out common lights to others whereby to know where we were!*' Hanbury's Historical Memoirs of the Independents, iii. 523. The

object which the Independents aimed at in holding this conference aroused many opponents in different quarters, among the most bitter and pertinacious of whom was Baxter. Orme's Life of Owen, 176—180.

²⁷ I have before referred to the generous conduct of Owen in the case of Pocock (see pp. 292, 293, and note) as an exception to that pursued by the great body of the Independents; and I again advert to it for the purpose of acknowledging another instance of the same spirit which he manifested, whilst Dean of Christ Church, in permitting a congregation of members of our Church to assemble near his house for Divine worship every Sunday, although they were not at that time tolerated by law. Orme's Life of Owen, 143.

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branch of the Universal Church of Christ, which is established in this realm,—whose voice was heard amid the angry uproar, pleading in terms of most persuasive argument for liberty and peace. I refer, it needs scarcely be said, to Jeremy Taylor. He rested his appeal, not as did those to whom I have just adverted, upon the alleged ground that the Church was ‘an aggregate of purely voluntary and independent combinations²⁸.’ Such ground he believed to be untenable; and would have regarded any theory, which was made to depend upon it, as destructive of the real integrity of the Church. The ‘Liberty of Prophesying,’ for which he contended, he proved to be a necessary consequence of acknowledging the just authority which the Church derived from its Divine Head; and pressed the observance of it upon his countrymen at a time when they most needed its healing power. His words were treated with scorn by many; and Rutherford, the Presbyterian Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew’s, selected Taylor’s work as one of the objects of his attack in a treatise, published by him in 1649, and bearing the ominous title of a ‘Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience,’ &c. Nevertheless, Taylor swerved not from his position. Orme, indeed, in his

²⁸ Gladstone’s *State in its relations with the Church*, ii. 227, 4th ed. The writer justly remarks, in the context of the above passage, that according to this theory of the Independents, ‘it is much more

wonderful that they should have retained any of the practice, than that they should have renounced or mistrusted the theory of persecution.’

life of Owen, has ventured to insinuate that Taylor only urged such pleas, when his own Church was outwardly depressed, and that he evaded or forgot them afterwards. But such an insinuation is as false as it is ungenerous. The continued republication of his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and the illustration of its chief positions by other like arguments and appeals put forth by him, even to the end of his earthly course, prove incontestably that his defence of toleration, maintained in that noble work, was held by Taylor to be a sacred duty of the Church, as sincerely, after she was restored to her outward dignities, as it had been in the hour of her deepest suffering²⁹. Nay more, I believe, that, if the spirit

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²⁹ For a complete refutation of the charges brought forward by Orme against Taylor, see Heber's Life of the latter. Works, I. xxvii.—xxxii. There is one statement, however, made by Heber in the above passage, which needs correction, namely, that which affirms that Taylor's treatise 'is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, a perilous and portentous novelty.' It is among the first, no doubt, and will be remembered when others are forgotten; but yet it is not the first. For Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of the Revolution, p. 166, mentions a tract published in 1609, entitled 'A humble supplication for Salvation and Liberty to James I.' and another tract entitled 'Religion's Peace: or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience,' was presented to James I. and the Parliament in his reign, 'by Leonard

Busher, Citizen of London, and printed in 1614. Wherein is contained certain reasons against persecution for religion; also a design for a peaceable reconciling, of those that differ in opinion.' These tracts are very scarce, and, of course, were not known to Heber at the time when he wrote the Life of Taylor. The latter tract has since been republished in the first volume of those edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society. The difference between these tracts and the treatise of Taylor is, that, whilst the writers of them urge, doubtless with great force of truth, certain claims of justice in their own defence, with respect to the rigorous treatment then observed towards Independents and Baptists, his argument is placed upon a much wider basis than that of any partial or temporary wrong; and he pursues it to its height with a composure and dignity of spirit which, under any circumstances of difficulty and trial, must alike command our admiration and reverence.

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in which Taylor designed and wrote this treatise, had been shared by the rulers of our Church after the Restoration, she would have been spared much of that reproach which the acts of Charles the Second's reign have cast upon her.

Return of
Presbyte-
rian power.

The re-establishment of that monarch's power is the next point which claims attention. And it is necessary to a right understanding of the chief difficulties and divisions which followed that event, that we should glance for a moment at the return of Presbyterian ascendancy, which immediately preceded it. The Presbyterians had been willing, in the first instance, that Richard Cromwell should succeed to the office and power possessed by his father: and yet, in a few months afterwards, they were among the foremost of those who welcomed and promoted the return of Charles to the throne of his ancestors. The main cause probably of such conduct upon their part was their continued exclusion from political power. The Long Parliament, dissolved by Cromwell in 1653, had been again summoned by his adherents, after his death, in 1658. But the same hostility, which had been exhibited against the Presbyterians, by forcibly depriving them of their seats in that Parliament, before its original dissolution, was still operating; and they were not permitted to appear among the remnant of its members, who were now again convened, and called, in derision, the Rump Parliament. The Presbyterians,—justly believing that the Independents and leaders of the army were the authors of this policy, and

promoters of the anarchy which threatened speedily to overwhelm the nation,—were eager to oppose them. And, accordingly, when Monk drew near at the head of his army from Scotland, and opened negotiations with them, they readily threw into his hands the great influence which they still possessed in the city of London. The remains of the Long Parliament had already, after a brief existence, been dispersed once more by Fleetwood and his brother officers; and Monk forthwith resolved to convene it a third time, in order that he might bring back into it those Presbyterian members who had been before excluded. Upon this, the Presbyterians were found to be so superior in numbers, that the Independents at once withdrew³⁰. The Acts then passed were, all of them, so many proofs of the re-establishment of Presbyterian power. And Neal fully declares this, when he relates that Manton and other ministers of their body were nominated to make trial of public ministers, according to the Directory; that a Committee was appointed to prepare an Act, declaring the Confession of the Westminster Assembly of Divines to be ‘the public confession of the Church of England;’ that ‘the solemn League and Covenant was ordered to be reprinted, and set up in every Church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year;—that the Presbyterian ministers were in full possession of all the livings in England; and the chief places of profit,

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³⁰ Rapin, xiii. 170—221.

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trust, and honour, put into their hands;—that the Independents were deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the Presbyterians, supported by Monk's forces³¹.' In this juncture of affairs, it was agreed that the Parliament should dissolve itself, and that another should be summoned; when it was still found that the new Parliament, which met, under the name of a Convention, April 25, 1660, was composed chiefly of the Presbyterian party³².

The Resto-
ration.

As their sympathies had now been, for some time, avowedly with the Royalists, there was no longer any difficulty in speedily effecting the end which they both desired. A few days after the meeting of Parliament, a Letter and Declaration were sent to both Houses from the King at Breda, in which he expressed his hope that the re-establishment of their rights might lead to the restoration of his own, and described the course of justice and moderation which he intended to pursue, should he be again seated upon his throne. Immediately upon the receipt of these, a vote was passed, 'that, according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this Kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.' This recognition of the Kingly power, unaccompanied by any conditions whatsoever as to the mode in which it was to be exercised in the present crisis, was followed by votes of money to the King and his royal brothers, by Addresses from the Army and Navy and the City of

³¹ Neal, ut sup. iii. 13.

³² Rapin, xiii. 241.

London, promising obedience to his commands, and by the public proclamation of his authority in several parts of the metropolis. The King speedily appeared in his own person; and, upon the 29th of May, —the anniversary of his birth-day,—returned, amid the joyful acclamations of his subjects, to his palace at Whitehall²⁸.

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The gladness of the exulting people was soon followed by disappointment and the renewal of strife; the main cause of which is to be ascribed to the contradiction which arose between the words and acts of the restored monarch. In his Declaration from Breda, dated April 14, he had granted, ‘upon the word of a King, a free and general pardon’ to all his subjects who should by any public act declare their acceptance of this favour within forty days after its publication:—‘those only excepted, who’ should ‘hereafter be excepted by Parliament.’ And, further, he had said, in the same document: ‘Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation will be composed, or better understood; We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom, and that We shall be ready to consent

The King's
Declara-
tions.

²⁸ Ibid. 228—232.

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to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to Us, for the full granting of that indulgence ³⁴.' Another Declaration was issued by the King, touching ecclesiastical affairs, on the 25th of October in the same year, in which he expressed his desire to adhere to all the promises contained in his former Declaration from Breda, and described the Presbyterian ministers, who had conferred with him at the Hague before he came over, as men 'full of affection to' him, 'of zeal for the peace of the Church and State, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to Episcopacy or Liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers.' After repeating 'the high esteem and affection' which he had 'for the Church of England, as it is established by law,' the King went on to recite the concessions which he was prepared to make, for the sake of peace; of which, some applied only to those who were in communion with our Church; others, to those who dissented from it. To the former, he promised that none should be preferred to the office and charge of Bishop 'but men of learning, virtue, and piety, who may be themselves the best examples to those who are to be governed by them;'—that the wants of the larger Dioceses should be supplied by the appointment of Suffragan Bishops;—that neither Bishops should 'ordain or exercise any part of juris-

³⁴ Ibid. 229, 230.

diction which appertains to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the Presbyters:’ nor should ‘the Archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers, whereof three were to be nominated by the Bishop, and three chosen by the other Presbyters in the Archdeaconry;’—that preferments in Cathedral Chapters should be bestowed only upon ‘the most learned, pious, and discreet Presbyters;’ and that a number of others, equal to those of whom the Chapter was composed, should be chosen annually out of the Presbyters of the Diocese, to advise and assist the Chapters in the counsel afforded by them to the Bishops ‘in all ordinations, and in every part of the jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, and at all other solemn and important actions in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned.’ Other provisions are then enumerated, touching the better observance of the public ordinances of grace, the religious instruction of children, and the duties to be discharged by rural deans and others appointed to act with them. After which follow the concessions which the King declared himself ready to grant to those who did not conform to the Church; and herein, having declared his conviction that ‘the Liturgy of the Church of England contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established,’ was ‘the best’ of ‘all that are extant,’ he promised to appoint an equal number of learned

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Divines of both persuasions to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary.' In the mean time, he promised that none should 'be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed;' that none who objected should be compelled to the use of 'the Cross in Baptism,' or 'to bow at the name of Jesus,' or to wear the surplice, except only in the King's Chapel, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and the Universities; and that, if men took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they might proceed to their degrees in the Universities, and 'receive ordination, institution, and induction, and be permitted to exercise their function, and enjoy the profits of their livings,' without making 'the subscription required by the Canon,' or 'taking the oath of Canonical obedience³⁵.'

The tenor of these Declarations of the King certainly supplied the Presbyterians with good ground for believing that all reasonable objections upon their part would be patiently and fairly examined, and that no severe measures would be taken against them for adhering to their honest opinions. This expectation upon their part was further strengthened by the marks of personal favour bestowed by the King upon some of their most distinguished ministers. He appointed ten of their number his Chaplains in Ordinary, among whom were Reynolds, Manton, Bates, Calamy, and Baxter. And, after

³⁵ Collier, viii. 409—416. Neal, iii. 57—60.

several Bishops had been consecrated to fill up the places of those who had died, since the temporal overthrow of the Church in the Civil War³⁶, a few of the vacant Sees were still reserved for such of the leading Presbyterian Divines as should be willing to conform. Reynolds alone accepted the See of Norwich, upon the strength of the Declaration which has been cited above. Calamy declined that of Lichfield and Coventry, until the Declaration should have passed into a law. Baxter refused that of Hereford, upon other grounds. And, although Manton consented to be instituted by Bishop Sheldon to the Living of St. Paul, Covent Garden, yet he afterwards declined the Deanery of Rochester³⁷.

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But, whatsoever may have been the hopes of the Presbyterians, they were doomed to be disappointed. One cause of this is to be found in the conduct of the House of Commons, the members of which, although they had voted their thanks unto the King for his Declaration, nevertheless rejected, upon its second reading, the bill that should pass it into a law. This proceeding was little calculated to keep up in the minds of the Presbyterians a belief that the fair promises contained in the Declaration were intended to be fulfilled; and, if the statement of Neal be correct, that Sir Matthew Hale, who was a strenuous supporter of the Declaration, was at this crisis taken out of the House of Commons, and appointed Chief

³⁶ Nine Bishops were still living at the Restoration, of whom Juxon, Bishop of London, was translated to Canterbury, and Sheldon con-

secrated his successor to the see of London. Collier, viii. 407.

³⁷ Neal, iii. 64.

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Baron of the Court of Exchequer, in order that he might not thwart the wishes of the government, there was the more reason for viewing with mistrust the King's words ³⁸.

Another reason, which operated very powerfully against adhering to the peaceful and equitable professions which had been made, was the outbreak of Venner's insurrection. The mad fanaticism of him and his followers, claiming to be subjects of the fifth monarchy which Christ was then about to establish, personally and visibly, upon earth, had led to tumult, rebellion, and bloodshed; and thus not only compelled the government, in defence of the public peace, to proclaim most severe penalties against them and all religious sectaries whose opinions and acts seemed to be akin to theirs, but further threw suspicion and reproach upon the whole body of non-conformists, even those who, like the Presbyterians, disavowed the pernicious tenets of Venner ³⁹.

A third cause, which helped to turn aside the current of generous and conciliatory feeling which had begun to flow, was the selfish and unyielding spirit of some of the leading Presbyterians. At the Hague, for example, where several of their Divines had been permitted to have private audiences with the King, before his return to England, they urged him not to revive the use of the Book of Common Prayer even in his own chapel, and not to require of his Chaplains that they should wear the surplice. But the King,—although he promised not to enquire

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. 72—76.

too narrowly into any irregularities in the ministrations of Divine Worship which might exist elsewhere,—firmly refused to suffer any other public devotions to be carried on in his own chapel but those according to the Liturgy, which he believed to be the best in the world; and, with regard to the surplice, ‘which had always been reckoned a decent habit, and constantly worn in the Church of England till these late ill times,’ he declared that he would still retain it, refusing to ‘be restrained himself, when others had so much indulgence.’ Then, again, when the King’s Declaration was read over by Lord Chancellor Clarendon to the Presbyterian Divines, Baxter forthwith objected to the toleration of Papists and Socinians⁴⁰. Indeed, Baxter was ever forward in urging objections upon every subject and in every place. Thus Neal describes him as ‘the most active disputant’ at the Savoy Conference, having ‘a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions⁴¹.’ And this description of him will apply not only to the part which he took in all debates upon the points of difference between our Church and his own communion, but to his proceedings towards the Independents and others. Orme, for instance, relates that Baxter was the first to enter into controversy with Owen, when the latter was with Cromwell in Ireland, in 1649; and that, in all the

⁴⁰ Collier, viii. 400 and 409.⁴¹ Neal, iii. 93.

CHAP. XVII. } subsequent disputes which arose between them, Baxter was ever the aggressor. Baxter also mainly contributed to defeat the attempt made by the Independents to agree upon a declaration of their faith, at a meeting at the Savoy, in 1658 ⁴².

The Savoy Conference.

Such a man was little calculated to reconcile the differences which again came under discussion at the Savoy, at the Conference which the King, in accordance with his Declaration, appointed to be held there, in 1661. He, in fact, embroiled the conflict still further. Having a majority of the Presbyterian body ready to follow his counsels, he was anxious to have introduced into the business of the Conference, the discussion of those alterations in the government of the Church according to Archbishop Usher's plan, which had already been proposed to the King ⁴³. When he found that the terms of their commission gave them no power to do this, but that their attention was to be confined only to such alterations as it might be necessary or expedient to make in the Book of Common Prayer, he drew up with his own hand, in the short space of fourteen days, an entirely new Liturgy, which he proposed should be substituted for the existing Liturgy by any who might prefer it. A list of exceptions also against the existing Liturgy was presented at the same time. His first proposal justly gave great offence to those Commissioners who expressed their anxiety to abide by the existing Liturgy; and, believing

⁴² Orme's Life of Owen, 89 and 176—180.

⁴³ Neal, iii. 87. This plan is given in Collier, viii. 403.

that it was inconsistent with the terms of their commission, to make so complete and unnecessary a change as that involved in Baxter's copy, they rejected it without examination. Then followed the discussion of the exceptions urged against the existing Liturgy; a discussion, which it is needless once more to review, for it would be to toil through a long catalogue of petty objections and subtle answers, which gave rise to nothing but obstinate and fruitless debate ⁴⁴.

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Let it suffice for our present purpose to remark, that both parties retired from the Conference, without having attained any one of the objects for which it was appointed to be held, and with increased feelings of hostility towards each other. The alterations, made a few months afterwards in the Book of Common Prayer by the Convocation, which received special instructions for that purpose from the King, served to widen the breach yet more; for many of the points, upon which a disposition to concede had been before manifested, were then enforced with fresh stringency; and the afflicting hour of pains and penalties, decreed by Parliament, was at hand ⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ It may be some consolation, to all who value the immortal work of Pearson on the Creed, to know that he appears in a most favourable point of view among the Savoy Commissioners. Neal, for instance, admits that he 'disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly;' and that 'the Presbyterians had a great regard for him, and believed, that, if he had been an umpire in the contro-

versy, his concessions would have greatly relieved them.' iii. 92.

⁴⁵ The reasons which induced the authorities of that day to take the severe course they did may be best learnt from their own words; and for this cause I subjoin the following representation, supplied by Clarendon, in his Life, ii. 121, of the mischief which, according to his judgment, would have

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The Book of
Common
Prayer.

But, before we advert to the sorrows which that hour brought with it, one of the alterations then made in our Prayer Book calls for special notice, on account of its connexion with the subject of this history, namely, the introduction of 'The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years.' The Preface, then drawn up and attached to the Prayer Book, speaks of this office as 'not so necessary when the former Book was compiled, yet by the growth of Anabaptism through the licentiousness of the late times crept in among us, [it] is now become necessary, and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith.' This Preface,—as well as the 'Prayer for all conditions of men,' then also for the first time added to our Liturgy,—is generally said to have

followed a milder policy: 'If all were granted, they [the Dissenters] would have more to ask, somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which make men inseparably cling together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever (which often deceives us), are separated and

divided from the herd upon reasonable overtures, and secret rewards which make the overtures look more reasonable; they are but so many single men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they have had) with their companions, than if they had never known them, rather less; being less mad than they were makes them thought fit to be less believed. And they, whom you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but for instances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick.' I give the above as a sample of the reasons by which Clarendon was sincerely influenced; but I believe that the grounds of them were as false as their consequences were ruinous.

been composed by Bishop Sanderson⁴⁶. The resemblance of the language of both to his other writings, gives good ground for believing that this supposition is correct; and, if it be so, a remarkable instance is supplied of the stedfastness with which this great man continued to cherish in his heart the love of his brethren in distant lands. We have seen him, twenty years before, joining in the first Petition addressed to an English Parliament upon this subject, and beseeching them to extend spiritual help to our infant Colonies in the West⁴⁷; and now, after all the distractions and troubles through which England had passed, and was still passing, we find him bearing those same countries in remembrance. He sees his countrymen resorting thither all the more rapidly by reason of the very anxieties and fears which prevailed at home; desires that they should carry with them the ordinances of grace to the natives among whom they had fixed their plantations; and prays that God would 'be pleased to make' His 'ways known unto them,' His 'saving health unto all nations.' If we turn from the consideration of the individual who gave utterance to such thoughts in such terms to that of the Church which has adopted them for her own, we must all, I think, acknowledge, that,—by thus interweaving them into the daily services of her Liturgy, by thus connecting

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⁴⁶ Cardwell, in his History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer, p. 372, thinks it probable that this Prayer was com-

posed by Reynolds; but still admits that it is commonly ascribed to Sanderson.

⁴⁷ See p. 151.

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them with the Office of Baptism specially appointed for such as are of riper years, and by thus publicly avowing the purposes for which that office was appointed,—she has set her seal, broadly and indelibly, to attest the existence of a most sacred duty, and her own earnest desire to fulfil it. And, further, if we believe, that, in making this avowal, she acted as became a faithful true witness of the Gospel of Christ, it is assuredly incumbent upon us who possess far ampler means of acting in accordance with this testimony than she did at the time she made it, to take heed that we weaken not its force, by neglecting to carry the ordinances of the same Gospel to the most distant plantations of the heathen.

Act of Uni-
formity.

The alterations in the Book of Common Prayer did not concern the members of the Convocation alone. Both Houses of Parliament watched with eager curiosity the proceedings which took place there and at the Savoy upon the question now at issue. And we find, at an early stage of the Savoy Conference, and again at its conclusion, that the House of Commons resorted to measures clearly indicative of their own strong dislike of the non-conformists, and of their determination not to gratify any of their wishes. The Lords,—although, in some instances, they showed a desire to act more leniently,—concurred generally in the same views; and hence, after authentic copies of the corrected Prayer Book, confirmed by the Great Seal, had been laid before Parliament, the mode of its observance was defined and ratified by the Act of Uniformity, which received

the royal assent, May 19, 1662⁴⁸. It refers, in the preamble, to a similar Act passed in the first of Elizabeth, to the evils which had followed the neglect in using the Liturgy 'during the late unhappy troubles,' and to the steps lately taken for preventing the like 'in time to come.' It then 'enacts that every minister should, before the next feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24, publicly declare his 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in the said Book,' on pain of being '*ipso facto*, deprived of all his spiritual promotions.' A further declaration was to be subscribed by all members of Cathedral Chapters, by all in authority in the Universities, and by all schoolmasters, that it was 'not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King:' that they would 'conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by law established;' and that no obligation rested upon them, or any other person, to observe the Solemn League and Covenant, which was declared contrary to the known laws and liberties of this kingdom. A refusal to make this declaration was to be punished, in the case of the clergy, by the loss of their preferments, and, in that of schoolmasters, by imprisonment and fine. Again, no person was permitted to hold a benefice, or to administer the Holy Communion, who was not episcopally ordained, 'on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds.' No other order of

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⁴⁸ Cardwell, ut sup. 374—392; also Clarendon's Life, ii. 128—139.

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Common Prayer than that herein set forth was to be used in any place of public worship; and no ministers were to be permitted to preach or lecture, until episcopal licence had been received, and a declaration of assent given to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Prayer Book, 'under pain of being disabled to preach;' and an imprisonment for three months was the penalty further imposed upon all who should preach 'while so disabled'⁴⁰.

Now, regarding the provisions of this Act, as it ought to be regarded, not in its abstract form, but with reference to the parties by whom it was framed, and those against whom its penalties were directed, it is impossible to deny that it gave great occasion for non-conformists to complain of the course pursued by the King and his counsellors. The point at issue was not simply whether a Church had not a right to require of her ordained ministers an uniformity in the observance of her public services. Upon the lawfulness of such a power, and upon the reasonableness of exercising it, two opinions, probably, cannot be entertained, save by those who are the enemies of all order. But the question was, whether, in the condition of England at this time,—when long and complicated disputes had divided the minds and affections of so many of her people, and promises of reconciliation had been made and accepted,—it was right to exact obedience alike of every man to this extent, and according to these precise

⁴⁰ 13, 14 Car. II. c. 4.

terms. The non-conformists, no doubt, might reasonably have expected, 'that the old constitution must return with the King; that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment; that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law; and that, therefore, they and their friends, who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the Church of England.' The historian of the Puritans himself admits this to have been the fact; and, that I may not misrepresent, however unintentionally, his meaning, I have quoted his admission in his own words⁵⁰. But, then, on the other hand, must be taken into account the great influence which, it was notorious, the Presbyterians had exercised in bringing back the King; the readiness with which he, knowing their sentiments and acts, had accepted their assistance; the solemn assurance which, upon the word of a King, he had given and renewed in his two public Declarations, that 'no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of

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⁵⁰ Neal, iii. 30, 31. The reader may perhaps be interested in comparing the description given by Clarendon in his *Life*, ii. 142, of the same matter: 'There was scarce a man [among the Presbyterian ministers] who had not been so great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that they had no other title to their lives but by the king's mercy; and there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the possession

of the churches they now held, by the expulsion of the orthodox ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their imprisonment, poverty, and other kinds of oppression and contempt during so many years, departed this life, the usurpers remained undisturbed in their livings, and thought it now the highest tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the law, and disobedience to the government.'

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opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the Kingdom;' and the concessions which, in the second of these documents, he had avowed himself ready to make for the sake of peace. How is it possible to reconcile such assurances with some of the penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity? Or, how could they, whose hopes had been excited by the former, not feel that they were most hardly dealt with in being compelled, two years afterwards, to submit to the latter? I know the answer which it has been attempted to give to these questions, by urging that all assurances made by the King in his former statements were expressly made subject to such alterations as might be determined upon by Parliament, and that if Parliament held it necessary for the preservation of the Church and for the restoration of her discipline and doctrine that such enactments should be passed, the King must be held blameless⁵¹. I cannot think this answer sufficient. The Parliament, it must be remembered, spoke the opinions of the King's ministers; those ministers had drawn up the King's Declarations; and, if expressions were thus put into the King's mouth, the meaning of which they who employed them knew would be explained away by the interpretation of other parties, with whom the decision of the matter was made to rest, it was, in effect, to convert the Declarations themselves into an act of solemn mockery.

⁵¹ Clarendon's Life, ii. 140, 141; Lords' Journals, xi. 449.

The severity of the measure itself was aggravated by the mode in which it was carried into effect. For instance, no settled provision was offered to be made for the relief of ministers who could not conscientiously subscribe to the Act of Uniformity;—a provision, which had been regarded both by Elizabeth when the Liturgy was enacted in her reign, and by the republicans when they ejected the clergy in the reign of Charles the First; and the existence of which,—howsoever its terms may have been, in the latter case, evaded⁵²,—bore witness to a sacred and unalterable principle of justice. Again, the day, fixed upon for the commencement of the operation of the Act, so quickly followed its passing into a law, that time was not given for considering all the alterations which had been made in the Prayer Book. The consciences of some, therefore, who were not unwilling to conform, were perplexed; whilst others, by the suddenness of the appeal so forced upon them, were led the more indignantly to reject it. And, if the statement be true, that the choice of St. Bartholomew's day was made for the express purpose of depriving the ejected clergy of a whole year's tithes⁵³, nothing more can be required to show the grievous spirit of injustice which was now at work. Collier, who was no lover of Presbyterianism, remarks, nevertheless, with respect to the present proceedings, that 'those who quit their interest are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable construc-

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non-con-
formists.⁵² See p. 301.⁵³ Burnet's Own Times, i. 317.

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tion:’ that ‘mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved ⁵⁴.’ But few traces of tenderness or of pity can be discerned in the course now pursued. The number of those who resigned their preferments in consequence is computed at two thousand; among whom were Manton, Owen, Charnock, Baxter, Calamy, Pool, Caryl, Gouge, Howe, Flavel, and Philip Henry. The bare recital of such names is the strongest evidence of the evils experienced in that day of strife.

Other acts
of severity
against
them.

Other acts of severity against non-conformists soon followed. In 1664, a law was passed, which subjected any person, above sixteen years of age,—who should attend any religious worship other than that allowed by the Church of England, where five or more persons besides the household were present,—to an imprisonment of three months for the first offence, and of six for the second. If he should offend a third time, he was liable to transportation for seven years to some of the American plantations, except New England and Virginia; and, if he should make his escape thence, he was to be adjudged a felon, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. They who suffered their houses or barns to be turned into conventicles were liable to like penalties; and, if any married women were taken in conventicles, they were to be imprisoned for a year, unless redeemed by their husbands upon the pay-

⁵⁴ Collier, viii. 453.

ment of forty shillings. An information, made upon oath before a single justice of the peace, was to be deemed a sufficient ground for all proceedings under this Act; and, through its operation, the different county gaols throughout the kingdom were quickly filled with prisoners. In the following year, it was enacted that all persons in Holy Orders who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, should acknowledge upon oath the illegality of bearing arms against the King, and their determination not to weaken his authority, or to contrive any alteration in the government of Church or State. If they refused to take this oath, they were not allowed to teach in schools, or to come within five miles of any city, or corporate town, or borough⁵⁵.

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It was under the authority of such statutes, and in the persecuting spirit which animated the framers of them, that all those severities were, for a series of years, practised, of which the record has left so dark a blot in the pages of our country's annals. But the names of the sufferers have outlived their sufferings. The Society of Friends, for instance, can still point, with feelings of a grateful affection, to their founder, George Fox, who then, with such unshaken constancy, proclaimed their tenets to the world. And, in any and every country, or by whatsoever bonds of communion their differing inhabitants may be held together,—as long as strength shall remain to appreciate aright the energies of an ardent

⁵⁵ 16 Car. II. c. 4; 17 Car. II. c. 1.

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imagination, controlled by a profound and experimental knowledge of the human heart, and animated by the love and fear of God, all put forth, and working in wondrous harmony together, that they may cheer and guide the Christian pilgrim in his progress through time to eternity,—so long shall the pages of John Bunyan be read and admired.

And here, let it be gratefully remembered, that the twelve years' imprisonment,—in which Bunyan planned and composed his noble work,—was ended by the humane interposition of Barlow, then Bishop of Lincoln, and other members of our Church⁵⁶. And, further,—whilst our attention has been thus directed to the severities inflicted upon non-conformists,—it must not be forgotten, that the history of them is relieved by tokens, exhibited in the same reign, of a milder and more equitable spirit of legislation. The abolition of the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, and the deliverance from arbitrary imprisonment secured under the Habeas Corpus Act, are the most conspicuous proofs of this fact⁵⁷; and let them be gratefully recorded.

The Roman
Catholics.

Having seen how Protestant Dissenters were dealt with, in the greater part of this reign, let us for a moment glance at the policy observed towards Roman Catholics during the same period. That Charles, notwithstanding all his show of affection for the

⁵⁶ Biog. Brit. in loc.

⁵⁷ 29 Car. II. c. 9. 31 Car. II. c. 2. I have already adverted (p. 43, note) to the abrogation of the Canons of 1640 by 13 Car. II. c. 12.

Church of England, had a secret bias towards the Church of Rome, there can be no doubt. Some, indeed, have asserted that he formally abjured the Protestant religion in the presence of Cardinal de Retz, before his last departure from France. Others assign this act to a later period⁵⁸. But, be this as it may, suspicions of the King's sincerity upon this subject existed in England, both before and after the Restoration; and the mere fact, that an Act was passed, in the first session of the new Parliament, which made it penal for any one to impute to him a desire to favour Popery, is a sufficient proof of the extent to which those suspicions were carried⁵⁹. The King was naturally desirous to effect some plan by which favour could be extended towards the members of a communion so regarded by him⁶⁰; but neither Clarendon nor the Parliament could, for a moment, second him in his views. Hence, it

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⁵⁸ Rapin, xiii. 297.

⁵⁹ 18 Car. II. c. 1.

⁶⁰ It is most remarkable that one of the first and strongest motives which led Charles to regard the Roman Catholics with a favourable eye, was the consideration of the severe penal laws which had been enacted against them in England. Clarendon states, in his *Life*, ii. 104—108, that he had explained to him during his exile, the causes of their enactment; and that, after attentively listening to him, the King had expressed his regret at their existence, and his resolution to 'do his best, if ever God restored him to his kingdom, that those bloody

laws might be repealed.' Clarendon adds that he frequently heard the King enlarge upon the same subject, when it came under discussion in the Courts of Roman Catholic princes; and acknowledges that 'it had been a very unseasonable presumption in any man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that candour in his heart.' It is strange that the King and the Statesman who bore this testimony to the sympathy which is naturally awakened in behalf of those who are oppressed, should not have remembered it when they were themselves the oppressors.

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became his policy, and that of all who secretly were inclined towards the same end, to insist as stringently as possible upon the observance of uniformity, in order that the body of malcontents might thereby be increased to such a height as, in the end, to force on a general toleration, under the cover of which the Roman Catholics might regain their influence. It seemed impossible to attain this object in any other manner; for, although a Committee had been appointed, in 1661, for the purpose of considering the propriety of relaxing the penal laws against Roman Catholics, it soon ceased to prosecute its labours, in consequence of the determined manner in which the Jesuits insisted upon preserving to the Pope his temporal authority⁶¹. And, when the King published, in 1663, a Declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, it was met by Parliament with the strong expression of their disapproval of any mitigation of the existing penal statutes in matters of religion, and by the addition of some further enactments expressly against Roman Catholics⁶². Again, at a later period, when Clarendon had been driven into exile, and the Cabal Administration succeeded to a brief and disgraceful interval of power⁶³, the scheme of comprehension and indulgence, then brought forward under their sanction, was negatived by the Commons. The De-

⁶¹ Clarendon's Life, ii. 111.

⁶² Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 469—471.

⁶³ It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that this Adminis-

tration was so called from the initial letters of the five members who composed it, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

claration also of indulgence, proposed by the King, in 1672, was in like manner withdrawn, in consequence of the opposition renewed in the same quarter; and the Test Act was passed, in the year following, which made the disavowal of the doctrine of transubstantiation and the reception of the Holy Communion, 'according to the usage of the Church of England,' necessary for holding any temporal office of trust⁶⁴. By this Act, the King's brother, the Duke of York, who had a short time before entered into open communion with the Church of Rome, was compelled to give up his office of Lord High Admiral. The effect of such proceedings was to drive Roman Catholics, as Hallam describes it, 'into the camp of prerogative,' and to furnish a pretext for renewed intrigues and conspiracies in the Court⁶⁵; whilst a community in suffering led their leaders to sympathise with those of the non-conformist party so far as to assure them of their hatred of persecution⁶⁶.

The reader will now perceive the critical position in which our Church was placed by these events. She was furnished indeed once more with the means of discharging her proper office as guide and instructor of the people. Her Creeds, her Liturgy, her Articles, the Orders of her Priesthood, the Sacraments of which she was the dispenser, above all, the Holy Scriptures, from which alone the authority and efficacy of every ministration was derived, were with

Condition of
the Church
during this
reign at
home.

⁶⁴ 25 Car. II. c. 2.

⁶⁵ Hallam's Const. Hist. ii. 530.

⁶⁶ Witness the Duke of York's

assurance to that effect to Owen.

Ibid. 524.

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her in all their fulness and integrity; and every spiritual blessing, which could be conveyed through these channels, it was her high prerogative to communicate as freely as they had been freely received. Her temporal endowments too and honours were restored; and, lifting up again 'her mitred front in courts and parliaments ⁶⁷,' she could speak to those who stood in the high places of the earth, as well as to those who toiled in obscurity beneath them, the sanctifying truths of which all stood alike in need. Greater help also, than any which temporal dignities could give, she possessed, in the piety and learning, the prayers and vigilance, of many of her most favoured sons, who were at this period within her sanctuary. The light of some of them, indeed,—of Hall and Usher, for example,—had been quenched in the times of the Commonwealth; whilst others,—of whom Hammond was the most distinguished,—who had lived long enough to welcome the dawn of a brighter day, and for whom the trust of her highest offices had been then designed, entered into their rest before they could assume the responsibilities of such a charge ⁶⁸. But Taylor continued, for some years after the Restoration, to exhibit in his daily walk that zeal, and love, and holiness, the spirit of which still breathes in his glowing pages. Bramhall too, and Sanderson,—though for a briefer period,—guided by their faithful and

⁶⁷ Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution. Works, v. 195.

⁶⁸ See the Life of Hammond by Fell, prefixed to his Works.

paternal counsels the Church which they had been the foremost to defend; and vindicated the truth from all assaults, with a firmness only equalled by the love with which they spake it. It was the age also, let us always thankfully remember, of Bull and Pearson,—of Walton and Pocock,—of Allestree and Ken,—of Fell and Beveridge,—of Barrow, Stillingfleet, and Patrick,—of Cudworth, More, and Tillotson. Wilson, too,—that saintly and fearless Prelate whose “praise is in all the churches,”—was rising into manhood when most of these were in the maturity of their years. Moreover, among the Laymembers of our Church, throughout the same period, were some whose names would shed a lustre upon any age; and the character of Evelyn, and Boyle, and Nelson, alone proves the greatness of the privilege which must have been enjoyed in holding fellowship with such men. But, on the other hand, most evil influences were at work, inseparable from that state of things which now marked the external history of our Church, and calculated greatly to impede her in the due exercise of her duties both at home and abroad. She was surrounded by an atmosphere of strife, the poison of which could scarcely fail to injure those who breathed it. The remembrance of former wrongs, the sharp exasperation of present disputes, the apprehension of future assaults, had, all of them, a tendency to disturb the judgment, and to inflame the passions of men. And they who would trace with impartial hand the character of the many feuds by which England was then dis-

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tracted,—the effects of which, it is not too much to say, are felt by her to this very hour,—must acknowledge that they were aggravated, not more by the pertinacious objections and unwarrantable claims of non-conformists, or by the designs of Courts and Parliaments resolute to repress the first renewed encroachments of that power which had so lately cast both throne and altar to the ground, than by the exacting and contemptuous spirit of some of the chief spiritual rulers, and subordinate clergy, of the Church herself. The reports, for instance, which have come down to us of the conduct of Sheldon⁶⁹,—who was translated from the see of London to the Primacy, upon the death of Juxon, in 1663,—awaken feelings of regret, which cannot be effaced by remembering either the strength of his abilities or the largeness of his munificence⁷⁰. And so too, when we turn to the pages of South, and read there passages which, for faithful exposition of Christian doctrine, for felicity of illustration, for logical precision of argument, for brilliancy of wit, and for nervous yet graceful diction, are not surpassed by any in the whole compass of English literature, we are only left to lament the more deeply the facility with which the spirit of religious discord could debase such noble powers, by mingling with them the alloy of bitter invective and irreverent railing.

⁶⁹ Neal, iii. 116. 168. 195.

⁷⁰ Sheldon's benefactions, public and private, amounted to 66,000*l.*; a great portion of which was appropriated to the relief of the ne-

cessitous in the time of the plague, and to the redemption of Christian slaves. Quoted from Granger by Neal, ii. 484, note.

It was not in England only that such influences were found at work. Scotland had already been the field on which the adherents of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism had fought their hardest battles; and she was doomed to witness the renewal of them once more. Even Leighton, with all that wisdom, and love, and piety, which so eminently distinguished him, could not prevent their outbreak, or restrain their progress. When the government had determined to restore Episcopacy in Scotland,—upon the assurance erroneously held out that such a measure would be welcomed by the great body of the nation⁷¹,—Leighton was one of the four then consecrated to exercise the office of Bishop in that country⁷². For nearly ten years, he presided over the diocese of Dunblane; and, for three years afterwards, over the more important diocese of Glasgow; but, at the end of that period, worn down by the trials and disappointments which had oppressed him from the very first, he obtained permission to resign all his spiritual functions, and passed the remainder of his days, in holy retirement, in Sussex⁷³.

The miserable work of strife went on in the

⁷¹ Burnet's Own Times, i. 225.

⁷² The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey in 1661. Rapin states that all four had been Presbyterian ministers, xiii. 279. But this was only true with respect to two, Sharp and Leighton; and they were privately ordained Deacons and Priests before their consecration. Burnet, i. 237, 238.

⁷³ The gentleness and love of Leighton's spirit may be traced in

all his writings, and, if we would see it manifested in act, we have but to recall the anecdote that is related of a friend who had called to see him, and found that he had gone to visit a Presbyterian minister who was sick, upon a horse which he had borrowed of a Roman Catholic Priest. Pearson's Life of Leighton, prefixed to his Works, i. 66. ed. 1828.

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country from which Leighton was thus forced to depart. The stubborn resolution and burning zeal of the Covenanters waxed stronger, under every fresh severity which the Government inflicted. The wildness of their fanaticism grew, from the same cause, to a more fearful height, stimulating them, first, to deeds of violence and blood, and then prompting them to believe that by such deeds the will of God was accomplished, and His glory promoted. Hence, dragging from his carriage the Primate Sharp, they could tear him from his daughter's arms, and murder him with repeated blows before her eyes. Hence too, they could withstand, in the shock of battle, the dragoons of Claverhouse; or endure the most exquisite refinements of agonizing torture; or, in the recesses of their own native mountains, sustain in prayer their solitary vigils, with a patience and constancy which knew no weariness. Nay, triumphing in those conflicts from which most men would shrink back appalled, and accounting their sufferings as a witness of God's fatherly love towards them, they cherished a keener hatred against all His enemies, among whom they regarded the upholders of Prelacy, in any and every shape, as the most deadly. The Church, which they thus vilified and condemned, was, in her proper character, guiltless of the sins imputed to her; but, being made to bear the burden of those misdeeds which secular rulers committed in her name, her trials, of course, were multiplied, and the difficulties of discharging her own specific duties increased.

Another, and, if possible, a yet more grievous source of evil to the Church was the character and conduct of the King who professed to honour her. Adversity had failed to leave upon his heart a single trace of those wholesome lessons which it is her prerogative to teach. Rescued, as by a miracle, from perils the most imminent, and restored to a throne from which, as far as man's judgment could determine, it had appeared that he and his race were to be for ever shut out, he was still, as he always had been, reckless, insincere, and sensual. In Scotland,—that he might snatch the precarious title of her king,—he had once subscribed the Covenant, branded with heaviest reproaches the Church into which he had been received by Baptism, and, declaring that his father had committed a grievous sin 'in marrying into an idolatrous family,' that 'the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door,' and that his own life had been a course of enmity to God's laws, of which he bitterly repented,—he had protested most solemnly that he would adhere to the terms of that Declaration as long as he lived⁷⁴. Then followed his covert correspondence, and, as some affirm, actual communion upon the Continent with the Church of Rome, which has been noticed elsewhere⁷⁵. Before and after which event, the declarations of his attachment to the Church of England were renewed so frequently, and in terms of such deep earnestness, that it might well have been

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⁷⁴ Rapin, xiii. 46. 58.

⁷⁵ See p. 453.

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accounted a treasonable impiety not to have received them as sincere. Yet, they were but the lying professions of the hypocrite. His heart was all this while with Rome; and, in his dying hour, he rested in her arms. And, what more fitting accompaniment to such false words can be found, than the acts of heartless profligacy by which his whole life was polluted? Surrounded by mistresses in his exile, he disgraced, with their presence and influence, the Court to which he returned; nay, insulted his bride, the Infanta Catherine of Portugal, by compelling her, upon her arrival in England, to submit to the attendance of one who was then the most favoured among them⁷⁶. Reputation, fortune, happiness, he sacrificed all at their shrine. No remonstrances, no chastisements could restrain him in his course. Clarendon, 'the representative,' it has been truly said, 'of English good sense, and English good feeling'⁷⁷, lifted up, even to the last moment of his political power, the voice of warning; the plague swept off thousands of his subjects; and the fire consumed for many days the metropolis of his kingdom; still was Charles seen running the same round of sin, feeding on the licentious and impious jests of Buckingham and Rochester, and wasting life, amid the ministers of his guilty pleasures, until he was struck down by death⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ Clarendon's Life, ii. 165—175. Tangier and Bombay formed part of Catherine's dowry; and attention will be directed to these hereafter.

⁷⁷ Smythe's Lectures on Modern History, ii. 39.

⁷⁸ 'And what then,' asks Professor Smythe, 'is his history? The history of a man of pleasure;

The poison which thus infected the Court spread through the whole land. The easy good-nature and wit and gaiety of the King made his example, among all classes of the people, more fatal. To plunge into excesses, the very approach to which had been for twenty years forbidden, under the strictness of Puritanic rule, became the fashion of the day. The chains of a conventional and forced sanctity were quickly snapped asunder; and, as if to indemnify themselves for the pain of its bondage, the sons and daughters of pleasure set no limit to their indulgence. Licentiousness thus became the constant companion of loyalty. Poets also found their choicest patronage in pandering to vice; and vice herself became more hideous, from the coarseness of the garb in which, at theatre, and masque, and revel, she flaunted continually before the public sight. In truth, the foremost critic of our age has not described too strongly the shameful wickedness which then prevailed, when he represents the figures, which attracted the gaze of

a fine understanding converted to no useful purpose, and, at last, as is always the case, not convertible to any; the common feelings of our nature corrupted into total selfishness by sensual indulgence; the proper reliah of the gratifications of our state worn down by abuse into a morbid indifference for every thing; with no friendship that he thought sincere; with no love that he did not hire; without the genuine enjoyment of one social affection, or of one intellectual endowment but his wit; floating helplessly on from one enjoyment to another; oppressed with

the burden of time, yet ashamed of his expedients to get rid of it; living and dying, Charles is the proper object of our indignation or contempt; through life a conspirator against the liberties of his people, or a mere saunterer amid his courtiers and his mistresses; and on his death-bed delivering himself over to his stupid brother and a Popish priest. Such is the history of Charles: but what is there here which the meanest of his subjects could have to envy? Ibid. See also Burnet's Own Times, ii. 454—462.

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applauding multitudes, as having their 'foreheads of bronze, hearts like the nether millstone, and tongues set on fire of hell'⁷⁹;

And abroad. In spite, however, of all these different and opposing influences, the Church had still the obligations of duty resting upon her, and the means of obeying it within her. Let us see in what manner she strove to apply these means to their proper end, throughout the various foreign lands with which she was now connected by the commerce, or colonial jurisdiction, of England.

That the changes and divisions at home which have passed under review, would directly affect also her ministrations abroad, was inevitable; and it is necessary, therefore, that we should carry the remembrance of these with us, in every step of our enquiry.

THE
LEVANT.

We have already seen the care, manifested by the agents of the Levant Company, to make its operations a channel for extending the knowledge of Christianity along the south-eastern borders of Europe; and have referred to the labours of Pocock, and Huntington, and other clergy of our Church, which were faithfully directed to this end⁸⁰. The influence thus created seems to have disposed the parties, entrusted with the management of our factories in that quarter, to show but little sympathy towards ministers who were sent out by the Commonwealth. For, in 1660, when John Broadgate, a

⁷⁹ Macaulay's *Essays*, iii. 259.

⁸⁰ See pp. 284—298.

Presbyterian minister, who had been appointed Chaplain at Smyrna, brought a bale containing copies of a Catechism,—probably the Assembly's Short Catechism, or some abridgment of it,—and required the merchants to draw up answers to the questions therein contained, they refused to submit to his yoke of discipline; and, after much fruitless altercation, Broadgate returned home, discomfited⁸¹. For some years after the Restoration, Huntington continued to carry on his duties as Chaplain at Aleppo; and Smith,—whose proficiency in Oriental studies was so great as to gain for him the title of Rabbi Smith,—filled the like office at Constantino-ple⁸². A third Chaplain officiated at Smyrna; and evidences are still extant of the faithful and devoted spirit with which these men, and their successors, discharged their duties. The Sermons, preached at different intervals, in this and succeeding reigns, before the Levant Company at home, and the notices to be found in the Journals, Letters, and other writings, which some of the Levant Chaplains have left behind them, supply these evidences. Of the former, those preached by Smith in 1668, by Hickman in 1680, and by Hayley 1686-7, will be found most full of interest; and among the latter, the publications of Chishull, who was Chaplain at Smyrna, and of Maundrell, who was Chaplain at Aleppo,—both of them towards the close of the

⁸¹ Account of Levant Company, lege, Oxford, by James II.; and, Lond. 1825, p. 52. at the Revolution became a non-

⁸² He was afterwards deprived juror. lb. 38. of his Fellowship at Queen's Col-

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seventeenth century,—and of Shaw, who was Chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, in the early part of the next century⁸³,—are still highly valuable, not only on account of the information which they supply to the antiquarian, to the classical student, and to the naturalist, in their researches, but to all those likewise who, in their attentive examination of the Holy Scriptures, desire to understand aright the customs and manners of the East therein described. That these men pursued their labours among a people willing to reap the fruit of them, may be inferred from the following character, given by Maundrell, of his congregation at Aleppo: ‘They are pious, sober, benevolent, devout in the offices of religion, in conversation innocently cheerful, given to no pleasures but such as are honest and manly, to no communications but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at, exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful union amongst themselves, a generous charity towards others, and a profound reverence for the Liturgy of the Church of England. It is our first employment every morning to solemnize the daily service of the Church, at which I am always sure to have a devout, a regular, and a full congregation⁸⁴.’ I may here state also that Paul Rycaut,—whose description of the condition of the Greek and Armenian Churches so well merits

⁸³ After the return of Shaw to England, he was appointed Principal of St. Edmund Hall, and

Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford. Ibid. 46.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 42.

perusal,—was, in the reign of Charles the Second, one of the Consuls of the Levant Company,—a body of men, distinguished, both then and afterwards, not only for the zeal, intelligence, and high principle with which they maintained the commercial relations of this country with the East, but for their hearty and sincere efforts, in conjunction with the ordained ministers of our Church, to make those relations the means of communicating the knowledge of Christian truth to its inhabitants⁸⁵.

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In passing from the consideration of the Levant INDIA. to that of India, it will be found that no less than three different Charters were granted by the Crown to the East India Company, during the reign of Charles the Second, for the purpose of renewing, confirming, or enlarging their privileges. The first was dated April 3, 1661; the second, October 5, 1677; and the third, August 9, 1683⁸⁶. In the marriage treaty also of Charles with Catherine,—

⁸⁵ In connexion with the Levant Company,—however brief and imperfect my notice of it has necessarily been,—I must not omit the name of that distinguished physician, Dr. Alexander Russell, who was at Aleppo, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and upon whose life and character a valuable Essay has been written by Dr. Fothergill.

A surrender was made by the Company of its Charters to the Crown, in 1825, in consequence of the Bill then passed for the better regulation of the Consular Establishments of the country; and the letter of Mr. Canning and the

speech of Lord Grenville, (then governor of the Company,) will well repay perusal. *Ibid.* 57, &c.

⁸⁶ The Law relating to India, &c. p. 1. The first of the Charters confirmed the Company's right to St. Helena, which Island, I have said above (p. 266), they had taken possession of in 1651, when the Dutch abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. In 1665, the Dutch retook it, but were expelled from it in the same year: and, in 1674, it was granted under another Charter of the Crown to the Company. *Ibid.*, and Bruce's Annals, ii. 232, 233. 334.

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dated only two months after the first of the above Charters,—it was agreed that the Island of Bombay should be ceded to him in full sovereignty; that the English should have power to trade with Goa and Cochin; and that, if, by the joint exertions of the two countries, Ceylon could be taken from the Dutch, the English were to retain possession of whatsoever parts they might conquer of that Island, with the exception of Colombo⁸⁷. But, it was one thing for the ministers of European Courts to agree upon articles of treaty at home, and another to give effect to them abroad. And, in the present instance, the refusal of the Portuguese viceroy of Bombay to give it up into the hands of the English, the differences which arose with respect to the full meaning of the terms of the article of surrender, the delays consequent upon all this, and, lastly, the difficulties which attended the maintenance of the Island, all concurred to reduce very greatly the amount of benefit which the nation had expected to derive from its acquisition. And, in March, 1669, it was transferred, by Letters Patent, from the Crown to the East India Company⁸⁸. Among the regulations which were framed soon afterwards for its government, I find one declaring that ‘the Protestant religion was to be favoured, but no unnecessary restraints imposed upon the inhabitants who might profess a different faith⁸⁹’; and an attempt was made, a few years later,—probably in 1685,—to erect a spacious Church in Bom-

⁸⁷ Bruce, ii. 11 and 105.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 134. 155. 198.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 226.

bay. Its foundation was laid, and its walls were carried up some feet, when, from some cause not now known, the work was stopped. A temporary place of worship, consisting of two rooms in the fort thrown into one, was meanwhile resorted to by the few members of our Church in the settlement; and it is probable that one, at least, of our ordained clergy was appointed to conduct their devotions. But I am not able to speak with certainty upon this point. The earliest definite information, which I have been able to obtain in connexion with it, is, that, in 1715, a resolution was entered into—mainly at the instance of the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain at Bombay, at that time—to build a Church upon the foundation of that which had been before begun; and that, on Christmas Day, 1718, it was opened for the celebration of Divine Service⁹⁰.

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The liberal response which the governor and inhabitants of Bombay, and the East India Company, made to the appeal then addressed to them by their Chaplain, will more properly claim our consideration, when we proceed, in a later Volume, to resume the notice of India. But, in the period now under review, one fact calls for grateful acknowledgment, namely, that, amid all the difficulties and discouragements of that day, the first stone of an English

First English Church
built at
Madras.

⁹⁰ Hough's *Christianity in India*, iv. 481, 482. It appears from the authorities there cited, that about thirty years had elapsed between laying the foundation of the first church and the recommencing of the second in 1715: and hence I have assigned the probable date of the former to the year 1685. The first Church in Calcutta seems to have been erected about the same time with that in Bombay. *Ibid.* 8.

Church was laid in Madras, in 1680, by the pious hands of Streynsham Master, its governor. He had been, for some years, a most valuable servant of the East India Company, and displayed the greatest courage and prudence on many and great emergencies⁹¹; his daily walk also had been distinguished by an uniform and consistent obedience to the Word and will of God; and, having entered upon the government of Madras, in 1678, he rejoiced to commence this work for the welfare of its people, and completed it from his own resources. No assistance appears to have been given to him from any other quarter⁹².

If it be asked, why more was not now done in furtherance of like righteous designs? a reply is to be found in the fact, that, notwithstanding the increased importance of the political and commercial relations of this country with Hindustan, during the present period, the same causes still remained in force, which I have before pointed out as obstructing the systematic introduction of the doctrines and ordinances of our Church among its different tribes⁹³. The agents of the Company still held footing only upon a very few spots on the borders of that vast continent, and were consequently unable to wield any of those instruments, which had been put so successfully into operation by the Portuguese and the Dutch. And, even this their power, feeble as

⁹¹ Bruce, ii. 285. 403.⁹² Asiaticus, quoted by Hough, iii. 377.⁹³ See pp. 267—271.

it was, became yet more precarious, through the evasive policy of Portugal, and the advantages which Holland gained under the Treaty of Breda. In addition to which, the wars which were continually going on, throughout Charles's reign, between Aurungzebe, the great ruler of the Mogul empire, and the new power of the Mahrattas, then rising in the Deccan, compelled the agents of the Company at Surat, and Fort St. George, and in Bengal, to accommodate themselves to the will of whichever party might, for the time, be superior. They were exposed, at every turn, to the assaults of the different contending parties. Surat, for instance, was twice attacked and pillaged by the Mahratta chief, Sivajee; although the gallant resistance of the English prevented its capture. At a later period, Bombay was invaded by the Siddee's forces; and in the opposite quarter of the coast of Coromandel, the arms of the Mogul were also directed against the English⁹⁴. Hence, notwithstanding all the temporal rights and privileges conferred upon the East India Company by the Crown of England, it was impossible for them to rest their operations upon any permanent and secure basis⁹⁵.

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I have stated, in a former chapter, that, during ^{AFRICA.} the Commonwealth, the East India Company,—by virtue of a Charter granted for that purpose,—had become masters of certain forts and warehouses

⁹⁴ Bruce, ii. 284. 641. 650.

⁹⁵ Ibid 672—674.

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upon the western coast of Africa ⁹⁶; an arrangement, which had arisen out of the coalition which they had been forced to make with the Assada merchants. But, in 1663, the prospect of gain from the shameful slave-trade led the King to constitute a new African Company,—the third,—of which his brother, the Duke of York, was President, with the privilege of sole trade to Guinea; and, as a necessary consequence, the East India Company were obliged to part with their possessions on the coast ⁹⁷. Clarendon describes the operation of this new Royal African Company in terms which plainly show that neither he nor those connected with it were disturbed by any sense of its iniquity. ‘Many ships,’ he says, ‘were sent to the coast of Guinea, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes, and other the King’s plantations, at their own prices; and brought home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same species, was coined of the gold that was brought from the coast by the Royal Company.’ The Duke of York, he also relates, took the greatest interest in the prosecution of the work, constantly presiding at all Councils, which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall. In fact, the only real grievance which

⁹⁶ See p. 262.

⁹⁷ Bruce, ii. 115.

seems to have affected the minds of those engaged in this enterprise, was the successful rivalry of other European nations; the Dutch, for instance, being already established, more advantageously than themselves, upon the bank of one of the African rivers, 'and the Dane before either'⁹⁸. In order to guard more effectually against the hindrances cast in their way by these competitors, and other interlopers, the third English African Company surrendered its Charter, in 1672; and a fourth,—the last,—Company was established, to which the King and Duke of York and many other persons of high rank were subscribers⁹⁹. No effort seems to have been wanting upon their part to give effect to the work in which they were engaged; for I find it stated,—in a pamphlet, published in this reign, and entitled 'The Case of his Majesty's Sugar Plantations,'—and actually urged as a ground upon which favour ought to be shown towards the planters, that they had, 'at their cost, bought above 100,000 negroes from Africa, whereby so many new subjects are added to the Crown'¹⁰⁰. Nor can it surprise us that such should have been the vast amount of traffic in slaves, attained even in that day, when, as the following document will prove, so great pains were exerted by those in authority to ensure its extension. Thus, among the Instructions issued to Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of Jamaica, September 8, 1681, the following passage occurs: 'You are to give all due

⁹⁸ Clarendon's Life, ii. 232—234. merce, ut sup. iii. 569.

⁹⁹ Anderson's History of Com- ¹⁰⁰ Somers' Tracts, viii. 480.

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encouragement and invitation to merchants and others who shall bring Trade unto our said Island, or any way contribute to their advantage, and in particular to the Royal African Company of England. And, as we are willing to recommend unto the said Company that the said Island may have a constant and sufficient supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities, so you are to take special care that payment be duly made, and within a competent time according to their agreements, it being against reason to expect that any should send you good wares to a knowne bad market.

‘You are also to take care, as much as in you lyes, that Our Order of Council, bearing date the 12th of November last past, be duly observed, wherein We have directed that the said Company shall send 3000 Merchantable Negroes yearly to Jamaica, provided they have good payments of their Debts contracted there: And that they do afford Merchantable Negroes unto the Inhabitants at £18 per head, to be paid there at 6 months forbearance, upon good security to be given for such payment: which negroes are to be sold by lotts made for the whole Cargo of the Merchantable Negroes of every ship without any reservation whatsoever; And, in case there be any default on the part of the sayd Company, or of the Inhabitants of our Island to comply with this Regulation, you shall signify the same unto us, that We may give all necessary orders therein¹⁰¹.’

¹⁰¹ MSS. (West Indies) State Paper Office.

It is remarkable that precisely the same considerations are here forced upon our attention again, which have been pointed out before, with reference to this subject; namely, that, whilst England was thus eager to bind and drag the poor African to the hard toil that awaited him in her Colonies, she was continually exerting herself to restore to home and liberty her own children that were enslaved¹⁰². A Letter of Sir Leoline Jenkins, for instance, is still extant, dated November 21, 1670, which he wrote, in his capacity of Commissary and Official to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Clergy of that Diocese, touching the redemption of captives, and entreating each of them to 'pursue that business with the same contrivance and earnestness, as if he had a son of his own, not to be redeemed out of those chains, but by the alms that himself should gather¹⁰³.' The motive also which induced the excellent Ken to accompany Lord Dartmouth, in 1683, as his Chaplain, when he went out, in command of a fleet of twenty ships, to destroy the mole and works of Tangier,—for Tangier was a part of Catherine's dowry, which proved as little advantageous to the Crown of England as Bombay had been,—is supposed by his biographer to have been a desire to enquire into and mitigate the

¹⁰² See pp. 254—260.

¹⁰³ Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, ii. 662. In another part of the same Letter a passage occurs which savours somewhat too strongly of the rigorous spirit of the day, for he broadly states, that, if ministers or churchwardens neglected the specific duty therein re-

quired of them, they were to be 'punished not in the ordinary way, but by his Majesty's Council.' Of the earnest and active zeal, which Sir Leoline Jenkins manifested in other ways, for the welfare of our foreign Plantations, more will be said in the next chapter.

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sufferings of Christian slaves in Africa¹⁰¹. The piety and active charity of Ken might well justify the belief that he visited Tangier with this view; and,—although no definite record, as far as I can learn, exists, which can help us to determine its correctness with certainty,—yet its probability is a witness of the evils to which Christian captives were then exposed; and the sense of such evils might well have led Englishmen, in their turn, to pause and reflect, ere they became the wilful and systematic agents to inflict the same, or worse, wrongs upon others¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ Bowles's *Life of Bishop Ken*, ii. 60—66. It is noticed in this passage, that one of the officers who sailed home from Tangier, upon this occasion, in the same ship with Ken, was Kirke, the perpetrator of those cruel atrocities which were witnessed at Taunton, in the reign of James the Second.

¹⁰² A Mahometan chief, Sydan, the King of Fez, had not long before set the English an example in this respect, which they would have done well to have followed. In token of his gratitude for assistance received from Charles the First against the Sallee rovers, he had freed from captivity and sent home three hundred Christian slaves; and, in a letter addressed afterwards to Charles for similar assistance against the Algerine corsairs, he had described the responsibilities of the kingly office in terms not less just than emphatic, confessing that it made kings servants of the people whom they governed, not less than of the Creator from whom they received the authority to govern; and that

in the faithful discharge of such duties they magnified 'the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to benefit the world.' *Ogilby's Africa*, i. 184—186. Sydan, in another part of the same letter, thus justifies his application to Charles for help against the pirates, by the following argument: 'Your great prophet Christ Jesus was the Lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and Giver of peace, which may signify unto you, that he which is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive to tranquillity.' The adoption of such an argument by a disciple of Mahometanism is a curious illustration of the description given by Grotius of that religion, 'in armis nata, nihil spirat nisi arma, armis propagatur.' *De Verit. Rel. Christ.* lib. ii. c. xii. Among the communications which took place at this period between Englishmen and Mahometans may be mentioned a

Turning our attention, in the next place, to those Islands in the West Indies in which the enslaved African was doomed to endure his toil and misery, we find all of them exhibiting, in a greater or less degree, the consequences of those changes and divisions at home, which have been described in this and the preceding chapters. Jamaica, which, we have seen, was conquered and controlled by Cromwell's officers, became naturally a place of refuge for his adherents, when the Commonwealth ceased to exist. Several of the regicides found in it a secure asylum; and an interest was thereby strengthened, which could hardly fail to work unfavourably to those who desired to see the ordinances of the Church of England administered, and the authority of her restored King respected, in the Island. These difficulties, it is true, were mitigated, in some degree, by the wise and conciliatory conduct of the King, who confirmed D'Oyley in the command which he had held under the Protectorate¹⁰⁶, and granted to him a commission, by which the civil government of the Island was henceforward to be regulated. The Instructions, contained in this commission, were equitably framed; and D'Oyley's high reputation supplied the safest guarantee for believing that they would have been faithfully and successfully observed, had he remained in Jamaica¹⁰⁷. But he was permitted, at

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very strange letter written by the Socinians in Charles the Second's reign to Ameth Ben Ameth, the Morocco ambassador. Leslie's Works, i. 207—211. fol. ed.

¹⁰⁶ See pp. 230, 231.

¹⁰⁷ It is but right to state that an unfavourable character is given of D'Oyley by the Rev. G. W. Bridges, in his elaborate and valu-

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his own earnest request, to return home, in 1662; and was succeeded by Lord Windsor, who brought with him a royal proclamation, granting to 'all children of natural-born subjects of England, born in Jamaica,' that they should, 'from their respective births, be reputed to be, and be, free denizens of England; and have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as the free-born subjects of England'¹⁰⁸. The just and friendly policy, thus pursued towards the Island, in the early part of Charles's reign, was, unhappily, not maintained to the end. It remained, indeed, substantially unchanged under the government of Lord Windsor, and of his successors, Sir Charles Lyttelton (1663), Sir Thomas Modiford, from Barbados, (1664), Sir Thomas Lynch (1670), and Lord Vaughan (1674). But, in 1678, the Earl of Carlisle was sent out governor, with authority to enforce a new system of legislation, framed upon the model of the constitution established in Ireland under Poyning's Act. The Assembly of Jamaica forthwith resisted this aggression most strenuously; they felt that it would be the introduction of a system which must deprive them and their children of their just liberties; and were not to be deterred, either by threats or bribes, from continuing to give to the measure their most determined opposition. Whilst the dispute was still going on, Carlisle re-

able Annals of Jamaica, i. 247—249; but I trust that I shall not be deemed presumptuous, if, after having examined the authorities cited in his work, I venture still to

retain the opinion which I have expressed above.

¹⁰⁸ Long's History of Jamaica, B. i. c. x. Appendix, D.

turned to England; and Lynch, having been again appointed governor, in 1681, with altered powers, succeeded, with the aid of the Council and Assembly, in obtaining the enactment of certain laws for the more satisfactory government of the Island, which were confirmed by the King in Council, in 1684, and most of which continue still in force¹⁰⁹.

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With respect to the position occupied by our Church in Jamaica, during the same period, I find a desire manifested, from the outset, to secure to all the Colonists, as far as it was practicable, the benefit of her ordinances; and, at the same time, a careful regard for the consciences of those who were not of her communion. I trace, in fact, a renewal of the same spirit which animated the King's Declarations just before and after his restoration¹¹⁰. Thus, in the Instructions to the above-mentioned governors,—in order that 'persons of different judgments and opinions in matters of religion,' might be encouraged 'to transport themselves, with their effects, to Jamaica; and not be obstructed and hindered under pretence of scruples in conscience,'—it was ordered that they should be excused from taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, according to the terms required in England, and that some other mode be devised of securing their allegiance¹¹¹. But, whilst this tenderness was shown to non-conformists, I find it enjoined, by the sixth article of the commission granted to D'Oyley, in 1661, that 'the governor

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. B. i. c. i. and c. x. Appendix, B.

¹¹⁰ See pp. 433—436. *ante*.

¹¹¹ Long, B. ii. c. ix.

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encourage ministers, that Christianity and the Protestant religion, according to the Church of England, might have due reverence and exercise amongst them; and, again, the eleventh article of instruction issued to Lord Windsor, in the year following, expressly 'relates to the encouragement of an orthodox ministry ¹¹².'

The Parish of St. Catherine, in St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, appears to have been the first in which a House of Prayer was erected for the celebration of the worship of the Church of England. It was built upon the site of the old Spanish Red Cross Church. In 1674, sixty acres of rich pasture land were given by Mr. Edward Morgan, 'towards the maintenance of' the minister of that Parish; and, in the same year, 'upwards of five hundred acres, in the neighbourhood, were patented' for the same purpose. This latter grant was never applied to the object in question, in consequence of the difficulty experienced by successive incumbents in getting rid of the occupants of the land; but the historian of Jamaica distinctly affirms that it was meant as a glebe to be annexed in perpetuity to the rectory ¹¹³. Besides this Church, another was erected in St. John's Parish in Spanish Town; and a third in the town of Port Royal. Clarendon Parish also, St. David's, St. Andrew's, and St. Thomas's, were provided with Churches; and all these, seven in number, appear to have been built before the expiration of

¹¹² Edwards's West Indies, i. 245 and 247.

¹¹³ Long, B. ii. c. vii.

the year 1664. The number of clergy, at the same time, were not more than five; three of whom accompanied Sir Charles Lyttelton. A sixth, Mr. Nicholas, settled soon afterwards at Morant, but was cut off by the sickness which prevailed in that quarter: and, in 1671, as appears from Ogilvy's map of the Island of that date, a clergyman, named Barrow, was resident in the Parish of St. Elizabeth ¹¹⁴. Among the Acts which, I have said above, were confirmed by the King in Council, in 1684, occurs one 'for the maintenance of Ministers, and the Poor, and erecting and repairing of Churches.' It recites the names of fifteen Parishes into which the Island was then divided; and provides that the Parish of Port Royal should pay two hundred and fifty pounds yearly of current money to the minister thereof; St. Catherine's one hundred and forty; St. Thomas's, St. Andrew's, and St. John's, one hundred pounds each; and all other Parishes within the Island, 'that either have, or shall have, a minister,' should allow and pay to him an annual stipend of not less than eighty pounds ¹¹⁵.

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I am not without hope of obtaining hereafter further information concerning the first clergy who ministered in Jamaica. Meanwhile, the following recognition of the authority of the Bishop of London, for the time being, over them and their successors,

¹¹⁴ I am indebted for some of the above information to Mr. Byam, to whom I have before referred, p. 243, note.

¹¹⁵ Laws of Jamaica, 53—60.

From the words of the clause last quoted, it would appear that not all the Parishes in Jamaica were then supplied with ministers or Churches.

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is worthy of notice. It is contained in a Report from the Committee of Trade and Plantations, dated August 6, 1681: 'We do likewise offer it unto your Majesty as necessary, that no minister be received in Jamaica, without licence from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London; and that none, having his Lordship's licence, be rejected, without sufficient cause alleged; as also, that, in the direction of all Church affairs, the ministers be admitted into the respective vestries¹¹⁶.' Again, in the Instructions issued to Sir Thomas Lynch, upon his appointment to the governorship of Jamaica for the second time, the following passage occurs, in reference to the same subject: 'Our Will and pleasure is, that no Minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiasticall Benefice in Our said Island, without a certificate from the Bishop of London, of his being conforming to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England. And also, Our pleasure is, you order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every Minister within your Government be one of the Vestry within his respective Parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of sicknesse, or that, after notice of a Vestry summon'd, he absent himself. And you are to enquire whether there be any Minister within your Government, who preaches and administers the Sacraments without being in due Orders, whereof you are to give an account unto the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop

¹¹⁶ MSS. (West Indies) in State Paper Office.

of London, and you are to endeavour, with the assistance of the Councill, that good and sufficient stipends and allowances be made and ascertained unto the Ministers of every Parish within your Government.

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‘And you are to take especial care that a Table of Marriages established by the Canons of the Church of England, be hung up in every Church, and duly observed. And you are to endeavour to get a Law passed in the Assembly for a strict observation of the said Table.

‘And you are to carry over a sufficient number of Books of Homilies, and Books of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, to be disposed of to every Church; and you are to take care that they be duly kept and used therein¹¹⁷.’

In the Commission, which appointed Lynch to the governorship,—and which is dated a month earlier than the above Instructions,—authority is given to him to collate ‘persons to any Churches, Chappells, or other Ecclesiasticall Benefices within the said Island and Territories depending thereon, as often as any of them shall happen to be voyd¹¹⁸.’

The authority, however, thus given to the Bishop of London over the clergy of Jamaica, was greatly impaired, through the operation of one of the Acts of the Assembly, which declared ‘that no ecclesiastical law, or jurisdiction, shall have power to enforce, confirm, or establish any penal mulets, or punish-

¹¹⁷ Ibid. dated September 8, 1681.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

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ment, in any case whatsoever.' And, since the deprivation of a living, or its emoluments, is virtually a mulct, and actually a punishment, it became a question,—as we learn from the historian of Jamaica, —whether the Bishop had a right to suspend any clergyman in the Island, either *ab officio*, or *a beneficio*. In fact, the opinions of many of the inhabitants were strongly expressed against his right of interposition; and, as long as this feeling continued, it was evident that Episcopal jurisdiction became a mere nullity. The same historian also acknowledges, a little further on in the same chapter, that, even if the right,—claimed by the Bishop of London, of inspecting the conduct of the clergy in the Island, and subjecting the same, when necessary, to ecclesiastical censures and punishment,—could be legally exercised; yet the great distance of the Colony from England, and the many engagements of his Diocese at home, 'would be obstacles to his working a thorough reformation in Jamaica ¹¹⁹.' It is scarcely necessary to cite stronger testimony than this to the evils so long inflicted upon our Church abroad, through the absence of a Colonial Episcopate. But, in spite of these difficulties, it is important to remark,—although, in so doing, I must necessarily transgress the limits prescribed to myself at the head of this chapter,—that considerable efforts were made, and that successfully, to extend the ministrations of our Church throughout Jamaica; for, in the first Report of the Society of the

¹¹⁹ Long, B. ii. c. ix.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,—published within seventeen years after the end of Charles the Second's reign,—it is stated that the number of Churches in the Island had amounted to fifteen ¹²⁰.

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Before I pass on to the review of our other West Indian possessions, I would advert, for one moment, to the evidence supplied in the history of Jamaica, at this period, of the generous spirit manifested by our Church to the suffering Protestants of France. An Order of Council is still extant, bearing date January 19, 1682, which authorizes the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England, 'to provide passage, together with provision of Victualls as shall be necessary, for forty-two French Protestants, whose names are to be certified unto them by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, to be transplanted to His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, with the first conveniency they can: And the Right Hon^{ble} Mr. Secretary Jenkins is to send letters recommending the said persons to the favourable reception of Sir Thomas Lynch, Governor of His Majesty's said Island, they intending to plant and settle there.' Annexed to this document is a list of the names thus certified, and signed by Compton, then Bishop of London ¹²¹.

Turning our attention now to the Island of St. Christopher, which was, first of all, settled by the

¹²⁰ See Report in the Appendix.

¹²¹ Documents (West Indies) in State Paper Office.

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English under Warner¹²², I find it stated by Blome, —in his Account of the British Possessions in this quarter,—that it contained, in the middle of the seventeenth century, ‘a fair and large Church:’—a proof, that the work which was begun by Featly¹²³, had not been neglected by those who followed him. But the disputes carried on, for nearly half a century, between the English and French settlers in the Island, blocked up the way of access against the ministrations of peace. I have already adverted to the fact of the simultaneous occupation of the Island, by parties of these two nations, in 1625¹²⁴; and, although the evils likely to result from this circumstance, were for a time warded off by an agreement that the French should inhabit the upper, and the English the lower part of it, yet, before the end of Charles the First’s reign, their constant quarrels led to a battle of several days’ duration, in which the French were victorious; not only expelling the English from the Island, but successfully repelling an attempt made by them, in the next year, to regain possession of it. The treaty of Breda, in 1667, gave liberty to the English to return to their former settlements in the Island; but, in 1689, they were once more driven out by the French. The following year saw the English, under the victorious command of Codrington, in their turn, masters of St. Kitt’s; and, although the French regained their former possessions in the Island at the peace of Ryswick, 1697,

¹²² See p. 182, *ante*.

¹²³ See pp. 185, &c. *ante*.

¹²⁴ See p. 188, *ante*, note.

yet, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, it was made over entirely to the British Crown ¹²⁵.

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Of the small Island of Nevis,—also colonized by Warner ¹²⁶,—Du Tertre, in his History of the Antilles, relates that Lake, his successor in its government, was ‘a wise man,’ and that ‘he feared the Lord:’—a statement, which has awakened in me a livelier feeling of regret that my efforts to obtain more definite information of the history of the Colony under his administration have hitherto proved unsuccessful. With respect to Montserrat,—another of Warner’s settlements ¹²⁷,—I could not expect to obtain any particulars, connected with the immediate object of this work; for few, if any, members of our Church took part in the early settlement of that Island. Its first colonists were composed, for the most part, of Roman Catholics from Ireland; and those who joined them afterwards were from the same country, and members of the same communion ¹²⁸. But, notwithstanding these obstacles, it is evident, that, in the latter part of Charles the Second’s reign, and during the remainder of the seventeenth century, successful exertions must have been made to set up the standard of our Reformed Church in this Island; for, in the Report of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel above referred to, Montserrat is described as having ‘two parishes of the Church of England.’

Another Island, which has been mentioned as one

¹²⁵ Edwards, i. 427.

¹²⁷ See p. 188, *ante*.

¹²⁶ See p. 184, *ante*.

¹²⁸ Edwards, i. 456.

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of those settled by Sir Thomas Warner or his family, was Antigua. It was granted, in 1663, by Charles the Second to Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, in consideration of his many services; some of which, —rendered by him during his governing of Barbados, in 1651,—have been described in a former chapter. The governorship of Barbados having again conferred,—as I have also stated,—upon that nobleman after the Restoration ¹²⁹, he made it his place of residence instead of Antigua; but his authority was of short duration. For, in 1666, when he was off Guadaloupe with his fleet, meditating a hostile attack upon its coast, a storm arose, in which he perished. His nephew, whom he had appointed deputy governor during his absence, appointed Colonel Carden, governor of Antigua; but, soon after his assumption of office, the Island fell into the hands of the French, in whose hands it remained, until it was restored to the English by the treaty of Breda; and Carden himself was murdered afterwards by the Caribs ¹³⁰. In 1668, William, Lord Willoughby, brother of the former governor, arrived in Antigua, holding the same office; and, among his followers, was Major Byam, the distinguished royalist, whom I have before mentioned as having retained the lieutenant-governorship of Surinam for several years, in spite of Cromwell's efforts to remove him ¹³¹. At the Restoration, Byam was confirmed in that appointment, and held it until the surrender of Surinam,

¹²⁹ See pp. 217 and 243, *ante*.

¹³⁰ Antigua and the Antiguans, c. iii.

¹³¹ See p. 243, *ante*.

by the treaty of Breda, compelled him to leave that Colony, and remove to Antigua¹²².

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The Island appears to have possessed few attractions for settlers at this period; for, upon the appointment of Sir William Stapleton to its government, in 1672, he preferred making Nevis his abode, and placed the former Island under the charge of a deputy. To this, among other causes, may be attributed the slowness with which the clergy of our Church found their way into this Colony: for it appears that an Act was passed by the governor and council of the Island, in that same year, authorising the solemnization of marriages by any member of their body, or any justice of the peace; and one of the historians of Antigua remarks, that such a regulation was necessary, because 'there was yet no established Church erected, or any clergymen officiating in the Colony¹²³.' The accuracy, indeed, of the latter part of this remark is not fully borne out; for I find,—in a list, kindly supplied by the present Bishop of Antigua to Mr. Byam, and forwarded by the latter gentleman to me,—that Mr. Gilbert Ramsey was officiating in the Island from 1634 to 1694. Nevertheless, the general destitution of the ordinances of the Church, which prevailed throughout the settlement, cannot be denied. Colonel Codrington,—who was afterwards governor of the Leeward Islands,—

¹²² Antigua, &c. Ib. c. iv. The uncle of the Major Byam here mentioned, was a Chaplain to Charles the Second, and his faithful companion in the day of adver-

sity. Wood speaks of him in the highest terms in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and Echard also, in his *History of England*, anno 1664.

¹²³ *Ibid.* p. 43.

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arrived in Antigua, in 1672; and the force of his example appears to have given the first strong impulse to the successful exertions of the Colonists¹³¹. In 1681, Antigua was divided into five Parishes, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, St. Peter's, St. John's, and St. Mary's. Churches were then ordered to be erected in them; and a provision for the respective clergy, to the amount of 16,000 lbs. of sugar and tobacco, was appointed to be paid to them yearly on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24¹³². This was no mere useless framework; for, twenty years afterwards,—adverting once more to the Report which has been already mentioned,—I find the following notice of 'Antegoa: The English here residing have five Parish Churches, which are of the Church of England;' and the assistance received from the Society, was 'To Mr. Gifford, and other Ministers, 20l.'

With respect to the Bahamas, we have no information whatsoever, bearing upon our subject, during the period now under review. This is sufficiently accounted for by the facts which I shall briefly notice. I have already spoken of New Providence, the chief Island in the group, being governed by Philip Bell, in 1629, and becoming, a few years afterwards, a place of refuge for the non-conformists¹³³. But the feuds of religious disputants from England were soon terminated in this Island by the attacks of the Spaniards, who, in 1641, made themselves its

¹³¹ Edwards, i. 438.

¹³² Antigua, &c. i. 50.

¹³³ See pp. 204 note, and 244, *ante*.

masters, and inflicted the most brutal cruelties upon the English inhabitants. The latter recovered possession of the Bahamas, in 1666; and the beginning of the next century saw them again expelled by the joint forces of the French and Spaniards ¹³⁷.

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Of Barbuda, the only remaining settlement made by Warner, which remains unnoticed, I have not yet succeeded in obtaining any definite information bearing upon our present object. I will, therefore, conclude this notice of our West Indian possessions, at this period, by glancing at the condition of Barbados.

Before I do this, it may be convenient to enumerate the additions made to our empire, in this quarter of the globe, under Charles the Second. Tobago, St. Vincent's, St. Lucia, and Dominica, were at one time claimed by him; but cannot properly be regarded as belonging to the British empire, until the eighteenth century. These Virgin Islands, of which Tortola is the chief,—having been seized upon, in 1666, by a party of English Buccaneers, who had driven out the Dutch Buccaneers from them,—were afterwards annexed by Charles to the Leeward Island government, and granted by him to Sir William Stapleton ¹³⁸. Anguilla too was settled in the same year ¹³⁹, prior to which, a settlement had been made at Honduras by the British logwood-cutters.

¹³⁷ Mont. Martin's Colonies, v. 385.

¹³⁸ Edwards, i. 459.

¹³⁹ This is the date furnished in the Parliamentary Return relative

to our Colonies, inserted in the Appendix to my first Volume; but Montgomery Martin, in his History of the Colonies, v. 378, makes it as early as 1650.

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Our occupancy of that place is now regulated by the treaty made between this country and Spain, in 1763¹⁴⁰.

Godwyn's
Negro's and
Indian's Ad-
vocate.

The early prosperity and trials of Barbados have been described in a preceding chapter¹⁴¹. And, were we to confine our attention only to the public professions of her rulers, after the Restoration, we might regard the spirit displayed in some of them, as an earnest of their sincere desire to spread among her people the knowledge of Christian truth. An Act, for instance, passed, September 27, 1661,—when Humphrey Walrond was deputy-governor,—‘for the encouragement of all faithful ministers in the Pastoral charge within the Island,’ has this preamble: ‘Whereas the excellency of spiritual Ministrations transcend all low and earthly distributions, and those that labour in the word and doctrine are worthy of double honour; that all due encouragement may not be wanting to the Ministers of the same within this Island, who shall have or shall undertake a Pastoral charge; Be it therefore enacted and ordained, by the President, Council, and Assembly, and by the authority of the same, That whatsoever arrears of salaries, or stipends, agreed for, or assest, for the use of every respective Minister in the Parish where he executeth his ministerial function, shall be unpaid after the five-and-twentieth day

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. 400. See also my Preface to Vol. i. p. x.

¹⁴¹ See pp. 196—217, *ante*. It may here be added that the Act for

declaring negro slaves to be Real Estates, was passed April 29, 1668. Hall's Laws of Barbados, p. 64.

of March next, upon the request of such Ministers to the superior authority here for the time being, attachment do issue for the levying thereof, on the estates and goods of such persons as do owe the same, that satisfaction may be made to the said complainants¹⁴². Other clauses follow, in the same Act, framed for the purpose of securing its avowed object; and, under one of them, authority is given to the Vestries and Churchwardens, to augment, as they saw meet, the stipend of their respective ministers, that it might 'yield a comfortable livelihood and encouragement to every one of them, conscientiously and carefully, to proceed to the faithful and diligent execution of their Pastoral charge, due respect being to be shewn to the merits of each.' Notwithstanding this profession by the rulers of Barbados of their desire to strengthen the hands of the ministers of religion, the result was, in many instances, a grievous failure; and the cause of failure will be found to have arisen out of that state of things which, in my previous notice of the Colony, I represented as fraught with evil. The witness, upon whose evidence our information chiefly rests, is Morgan Godwyn, who had been a Student of Christ Church, Oxford; and, having passed several years of his life, as an ordained minister of our Church, in Virginia, came afterwards to Barbados. A Pamphlet was published by him in London, in 1680, entitled 'The Negro's and Indian's Advocate, suing for their admission

¹⁴² Hall's Laws of Barbados, p. 33.

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into the Church, &c.’¹⁴³ Its Preface is evidently written in the spirit of one who sets himself to plead earnestly with his countrymen, in behalf of the negroes and other heathens, at that time, in our West Indian plantations. The body of the work itself is divided into four chapters; in the first of which, he states, that, ever since his arrival in Barbados, his efforts to baptize and train them in the knowledge of Christian truth, had been opposed (1) by those who declared it to be impracticable; (2) by those who regarded it as a work savouring of Popish supererogation, and utterly needless; and (3) by those, —the most numerous,—who condemned it as likely to be subversive of their own interests and property, and strove to put it down by ridicule. Godwyn ascribes this spirit of Gentilism to the neglect of spiritual ordinances, which had been suffered to continue so long in the Island; and represents it as having acquired, in course of time, such strength, that any one who presumed to oppose its influence, was regarded as a violator of the law. The planters vindicated their treatment of the negro, by saying, that, although he bore the resemblance of a man, he had not the qualities of a man;—a conceit, of which Godwyn boldly asserts, ‘atheism and irreligion were the parents, and sloth and avarice the foster nurses.’ The enemies of our Church, as was to be expected, had not been slow in detecting these evils, and

¹⁴³ Although published in London, the work had evidently been prepared abroad, for Godwyn asks, in the Preface, for indulgence on account of its having been ‘written in *terrá barbará*.’

upbraiding her for their continuance; and Godwyn mentions particularly an 'officious Quaker,' who had put into his hand 'a petty Reformado Pamphlet,' upon this subject; in which the question was asked, 'Who made you ministers of the Gospel to the White people only, and not to the Tawneys and Blacks also?' It was further declared therein that a connivance at such a state of things was alike condemned by the Holy Scriptures, by the Book of Common Prayer which the clergy were bound to observe, and by their own ordination vows. Godwyn patiently admits that this reproach was not without a cause; and, although he believed that the writer of the Pamphlet in question was influenced rather by a desire to cast blame upon our Church than really to vindicate the rights of the negro race, he applies himself, with all sincerity and zeal, to do what he could to wipe off the stain. Accordingly, he applies himself to prove the three following propositions.

(1) 'That the negroes, both slaves and others, have naturally an equal right with other men to the exercise and privileges of religion: of which it is most unjust in any part to deprive them.'

(2) 'That the profession of Christianity absolutely obliging to the promoting of it, no difficulties nor inconveniences, how great soever, can excuse the neglect, much less the hindering or opposing of it, which is in effect no better than a renunciation of that profession.'

(3) 'That the inconveniences here pretended for

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this neglect, being examined, will be found nothing such, but rather the contrary.'

The arguments, by which Godwyn supports each of these propositions, are pursued, through a variety of subdivisions, which I do not attempt to condense, because to do so would be to write a review of the whole book. I will only observe, therefore, that, whilst they will amply repay any attention which may be bestowed upon them, Godwyn strove, by acts not less than words, to overcome the stubborn barriers of prejudice that were before him; and was content to bear the storm of reproaches and taunts which fell upon him, as often as he sought to give to the poor negro the benefit of any ordinance of the Gospel of Christ. His brother clergy in the Island also helped him in the same cause; and he quotes a passage from a Sermon, delivered by one of them, in which it was thus pleaded: 'And that we may not too proudly insult these people [the negroes], and resolve against them,—that, like the mountains of Gilboa, no dews nor showers of grace were to fall upon those parched fields; or, like the barren fig-tree, they were smitten with a perpetual curse;—we find them admitted into the Church upon the first dawning of the Gospel. And (Acts viii.) we read the holy Spirit of God to be no less than thrice particularly concerned, and acting for the salvation of the Æthiopian Treasurer; a condescension so extraordinary and rare, that few, either men or nations, can boast of the like. Wherefore, if St. Peter could, from one single ex-

ample, infer the salvation of all the heathen, what should hinder, but from the Eunuch's ready submission and hearty acceptance of the heavenly doctrine, we also may infer the calling and conversion of all the negroes? And, since that God who knoweth the hearts bare him witness, and did put no difference between him and other Gentiles, but purified his heart by faith, Why tempt we God, in detaining them in bondage to Hell (no less than to ourselves) for whom Christ died and redeemed them from thence? And then, having referred to the case of Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, spoken of in Jeremiah (xxxviii. and xxxix.), the preacher thus concludes: 'Both which being considered, it is most evident (to use St. Peter's words in his discourse to Cornelius) "that to them also God hath granted repentance unto life;" that they have souls to be saved no less than other people; and an equal right even with us to the merits of Christ. Of which, if, through our neglect or avarice, they be deprived, that judgment, which was denounced against wicked Ahab, must befall us: our life shall go for theirs: the loss of their souls will be required at our hands, to whom God hath given so blessed an opportunity of being instrumental to their salvation¹⁴⁴.'

The delivery of this Sermon exposed its preacher to most barbarous usage; and another of the clergy, who, upon another occasion, urged from the pulpit the like duty, was treated with like severity by the

¹⁴⁴ Godwyn, ut sup. 77, 78. The words of the Jews, Acts xi. 18, are here erroneously ascribed to St. Peter.

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planters¹⁴⁵. The negroes, also, in consequence of these efforts on the part of the clergy of Barbados to help them, were exposed to still more brutal treatment. One of these instances shall be related in Godwyn's own words: 'His crime being neither more nor less than receiving Baptism upon a Sunday morning at his Parish Church, from the hands of the Minister thereof: Who was said afterwards to excuse himself thus, That he could not deny it, being demanded of him. But the negro, at his return, did not escape so easily. The brutish overseer instantly taking him to task, and giving him to understand that that was no Sunday work for those of his complexion; that he had other business for him, the neglect whereof would cost him an afternoon's baptism in blood (these I heard were his very words), as in the morning he had received a baptism with water; which he accordingly made good. Of which the negro afterward complaining to the Minister, and he to the Governor, the miserable wretch was for ever after so unmercifully treated by that inhuman devil, that, to avoid his cruelty, be-taking himself to the woods, he there perished¹⁴⁶.'

The taunting observation which Godwyn, in the above pamphlet, represents himself to have received from an 'official Quaker,' with reference to the negroes, will remind the reader of the persevering zeal with which the members of that body stood forward, in every place, as the censors of the world, and

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 113 and 166.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 112.

the impetus which their zeal derived from the persecutions to which they were then exposed in England and elsewhere. I have already adverted to the illustration of this fact, supplied in the history of George Fox¹⁴⁷; and they who are acquainted with the pages of his curious Journal, will remember that Barbados was not the least remarkable of the scenes in which the energies of himself and of his brethren were displayed. The authorities of the Island put forth their strength to check them; and Acts were passed, in 1676 and 1678, for the express purpose of preventing Quakers, under severe penalties, from bringing negroes to their meetings¹⁴⁸. The former of these Acts contained also a clause, that no person should be allowed to keep a school, unless he first took the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and I refer to it here, for the purpose of exposing the unworthy comment made upon it by the author of the Short History of Barbados, who observes that it 'was a precaution perhaps not impolitic in a colony where labour was of more utility than learning.' If, indeed, they who observed this precaution had supplied, cheerfully and effectually, from their own resources, that teaching of needful truth to the negro race, which they would not allow them to learn from non-conformists, it might have been a justification of the course pursued by them. Upon such ground, the authors of the celebrated Code Noir of France defended the exclusive character of its enact-

¹⁴⁷ See p. 451, *ante*.¹⁴⁸ Hall's Laws, 97—102.

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ments¹⁴⁹. But, to debar the whole negro population from gaining instruction elsewhere, whilst they set up such hindrances, as those which Godwyn describes, in the way of their receiving it from the authorized teachers of our own Church, was to inflict the heaviest injustice upon them, and upon the Church which was answerable for their souls. The evil stopped not here; for familiarity with this injustice soon made men insensible to its enormity; and other writers, in the next century, imitated him to whom we have referred above, in their contemptuous disregard of any and every effort made to bring the negroes to embrace Christianity¹⁵⁰.

But a heavier trial, than any which the clergy of Barbados had to experience from the railing accusations of Quakers¹⁵¹, or the brutal conduct of over-

¹⁴⁹ 'We forbid,' say they, in the third Article, 'the public exercise of any other than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion:' and the fourth Article declares that 'no one shall be appointed an overseer of negroes who does not profess the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion.' Herein was the exclusiveness to which the enactments of our West India Code bear a close resemblance. But then, the second Article had made the important provision to which we shall seek in vain for any parallel in our own Colonial legislation: 'All slaves that are in our islands shall be baptized, and instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion;' and all purchasers of newly imported slaves were required to give notice thereof, within eight days, to the governor or

intendant, who were to issue 'the necessary orders for causing them to be baptized, and instructed, at convenient times.' Long's History of Jamaica, iii. Appendix; where the Code Noir, published in Versailles, in 1685, is given at length.

¹⁵⁰ Among these writers, Oldmixon may be mentioned the most conspicuous: and Burke has justly rebuked him for indulging in such representations, saying that he 'cannot conceive with what face any body, who pretends to inform the public, can set up as an advocate for irreligion, barbarism, and gross ignorance.' Account of European Settlements, &c. ii. 130.

¹⁵¹ These accusations, even where a specious pretext for them existed, were often advanced with a presumptuous boldness more calculated to irritate than to convince.

seers, was the thralldom under which they were held by the Parochial Vestries. The instance, above cited from Godwyn, of the necessity, laid upon the clergyman who baptized a negro, to vindicate himself, in a tone of apology, for having done that act, is one signal proof of this oppression. And it stands not alone. Godwyn proves that it was a part of the same vicious system, which everywhere prevailed with regard to Church government in the Island, at this time. I have already pointed out the defects of this system, and the evils which were likely to spring from them¹⁵². Godwyn confirms strongly the truth of those observations, when he remarks, with reference to the above narrative; ‘Here we may reade the evil consequence of making Ministers annual Stipendiaries, and of subjecting them to the arbitrary talons of Vestries, made up for the most part of sordid plebeians, the very dregs of the English nation, with whom to be truly conscientious is the height of madness and folly; and whose displeasure, even of any of them, though in the most righteous cause, doth portend the parties most certaine ruine¹⁵³.’ Other outrages against truth and decency, springing from the same source, are likewise enumerated by him. He describes one man, for instance, not in Holy Orders, as undertaking to baptize, or marry, or ‘do any office where money was to

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And, in many instances, they were mere groundless assertions: witness the gross and shameful calumny against the Barbados clergy, in 1664, which Sewell has thought

fit to repeat in his History of the Quakers, i. 445.

¹⁵² See p. 209, *ante*.

¹⁵³ Godwyn, ut sup. 114.

be got; the Minister being not able to prevent him; the Vestries (who are our supreme Church-Governours) not favouring their complaints, or being themselves not willing to be confined. Nor have the Ministers much cause to be displeas'd; themselves (especially the more popular) usually taking the liberty of their neighbours' Parishes and Pulpits upon all occasions, both without and against the Proprietor's consent¹⁵⁴.' In many parts of the Island, he relates further, that Baptism, Marriages, Churchings, and Burials, were 'either totally omitted, or else performed by the overseers, in a kind of profane merriment, and derision as it were of the ordinances.' He refrains from inserting the Order of Visitation of the Sick in the above list, because it was laid aside in a manner by all, except the richer English¹⁵⁵. There were only five clergy in the whole Island; and thus six, out of the eleven, Churches then built in it, were without any appointed ministers. Godwyn himself forbore to accept the charge of any Parish in Barbados; feeling that he could not do so, as long as they were subject to such tyrannical control of Vestries. He urges strongly the necessity of appointing 'one person or more, as agents for each Colony, to represent the grievances of the Church and Ministers to the Government of England, it having been hitherto found to very little purpose to make complaints there¹⁵⁶.'

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. 104.¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 186.¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 154, 155.

Here then is further evidence,—of a different kind, indeed, from that adverted to in the case of Jamaica, but not less weighty,—to prove the evils experienced from the want of a Colonial Episcopate. CHAP.
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The exhortation, with which, in spite of all the adverse influences which were against him, Godwyn concludes his appeal, is expressed in terms of deepest pathos: ‘Of what may yet be the issue, (he says,) I shall not enquire, but rest satisfied that I have done what I could, and delivered my soul, which I must declare that otherwise I could not. And no less shall comfort myself, that, whatsoever shall be the success, either through any neglect at home or opposition here; and that, though it should happen, which I trust it cannot, (truth being most powerful, and must prevail,) that I should labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought, yet surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God. Amen ¹⁵⁷.’

Let not the words of Morgan Godwyn be forgotten. Other men have since echoed the same righteous appeal; and, by their repeated remonstrances, the negro, in our West Indian Islands, has, at length, been freed from bondage. But, let it always be remembered that the first effort to accomplish this end, was made by this clergyman of the Church of England, and under circumstances of deepest discouragement. Clarkson himself acknowledges this fact in

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 166

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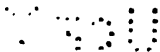
the most unqualified terms. He admits that Bishop Sanderson, and others, had before borne their testimony in general terms, against the lawfulness of trading in the persons of men; and that Baxter, afterwards, in his *Christian Directory*,—where he gives rules for the masters of slaves in foreign plantations,—repeated the same protest. But, above and before all these, Clarkson awards most justly the palm to Morgan Godwyn¹⁵⁷.

The connexion which subsisted, as will be seen hereafter, between Godwyn and Berkeley, governor of Virginia, might naturally lead us to resume here our notice of that province. But, as the history of Virginia is closely connected with that of Maryland, and these, in their turn, with that of the efforts made, at the close of the seventeenth century, by the Church at home, to organize and extend spiritual aid to all our foreign possessions, it will be more convenient to defer it to the next chapter, which describes those efforts.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the notice of Carolina, another important Colony in North America, which was formally settled in the reign of Charles the Second.

CAROLINA. It has been already stated, that the first Englishmen who discovered and took possession of the shores of that province, and the islands immediately adjacent, were Amadas and Barlowe, when they went

¹⁵⁷ Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, i. 45, 46.



out under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584¹⁵⁸. But, even before that period, Spain had been eager to regard the province as her own; and the fortress of St. Augustine, the capital of East Florida, was a conspicuous sign of the sovereignty which she assumed over the neighbouring continent and isles. France, too, had set foot within its borders, not only in the person of Verrazzano, the Florentine mariner, who was commissioned by Francis the First, in 1524, to explore them; but also in the persons of those suffering Protestants, whom the noble Coligny sent out to settle in a part of the country, under the conduct of Ribaud, in 1562, and others of the same body who went forth for the like purpose, two years afterwards, under the command of Laudonnière. Of the conflicts which quickly arose between these French settlers and their Spanish neighbours, the victories gained alternately on either side, and the necessity which at last compelled the French to abandon the country altogether¹⁵⁹, little was known probably by Raleigh's band of colonists. At all events, they utterly disregarded the claims, real or pretended, of any European rivals; and, disastrous as we have seen were their own attempts to settle in the island of Roanoak, they nevertheless made and renewed them, with as much confidence as if there were none to dispute the sovereignty of the English Crown in that quarter. The formal resumption of that sovereignty over the country off

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¹⁵⁸ Vol. I. beginning of ch. v. France, quoted by Chalmers, 513,

¹⁵⁹ L'Escarbot's History of N. 514.

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which Roanoak was situated, was not attempted until the fifth year of Charles the First, 1630, when he made a grant of all that portion of the continent which lies between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth parallels of North latitude, under the name of Carolina, to his Attorney-General, Sir Robert Heath. But no trace exists of any effort to plant a Colony there at that time; and the grant was afterwards declared void, by reason of the non-fulfilment of its conditions¹⁶⁰.

Yearley
and Ferrar.

Meanwhile, different parties from the contiguous Colony of Virginia found their way into the province; some, obeying the authority which they received from the Colonial Legislature to prosecute discoveries in that quarter¹⁶¹; and others, following the path which their own adventurous spirit opened to them. The most remarkable of such enterprises was one carried on, in the time of the Commonwealth, through the help of Francis Yearley, who had been born in Virginia, during his father's government of that Colony¹⁶². The account of it is given in a letter written by him May 8, 1654, to John Ferrar, who was then residing upon his property at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire¹⁶³. After

¹⁶⁰ Chalmers, 515.

¹⁶¹ Hening, i. 262.

¹⁶² Sir George Yearley, the father, died in November, 1627, and I find a notice in Hening, i. 145, of his widow Lady Temperance Yearley attending a Court held at James City, for the purpose of confirming the conveyance

of certain lands made by her late husband. At the same Court, presentments of the minister and churchwardens of Stanley Hundred were delivered under their hands; and also a register of marriages, burials, and christenings.

¹⁶³ Thurloe, ii. 273, 274. The letter bears this address, and also

describing the country of South Virginia or Carolina, 'as a most fertile, gallant, rich soil, flourishing in all the abundance of nature, especially in the rich mulberry and vine, a serene air, and temperate clime, and experimentally rich in precious minerals,' he relates the story of a young man, engaged in the beaver trade, who, having been separated from his own sloop, had obtained a small boat and provisions from Yeardley, and gone with his party to Roanoak, at which island he hoped to find his vessel. He there fell in with a hunting party of Indians; and so quickly profited by their kind reception of him as to persuade them, and some of the other tribes both in the island and adjacent continent, to come and make their peace with the English. In consideration of the assistance received from Yeardley, the young man brought some of these Indians, with 'the great man' or 'emperor' of Roanoak, to Yeardley's house. They passed a week under his roof; and, 'the great man,' seeing the children of Yeardley read and write, asked him whether he would take his only son, and teach him likewise 'to speak out of the book, and to make a writing.' Yeardley assured him that he would; and the Indian chief, upon his departure,—expressing his strong desire to serve the God of the Englishman, and his hope that his child might be brought up in the knowledge of the same,—promised to bring him again to Yeardley 'in four moons.' Meanwhile,

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the following endorsement by West Indies, delivered to me by Thurloe: 'A letter concerning the Mr. Farrar.'

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Yeardley had been called away to Maryland; and the English inhabitants of the settlement,—suspecting, from the frequent visits and enquiries of the Indian, that Yeardley was carrying on some scheme for his own private advantage,—treated the poor chief with great harshness. Upon one occasion, when Yeardley's wife had brought him to Church, 'some over busy justices of the place,' it is said, 'after sermon, threatened to whip him, and sent him away;' whereat 'the great man' is described to have been much appalled; and Yeardley's wife, taking him by the hand, resolutely stood forward in his defence, and pledged her whole property as guarantee for the truth of her assertion, that no harm to the settlement was intended, or was likely to arise, from the Indian's alliance. Upon Yeardley's return from Maryland, he dispatched, with his brother's assistance, a boat with six hands, one being a carpenter, to build 'the great man' an English house, according to a promise made by him to that effect; and also a supply of two hundred pounds sterling, for the purchase of territory. The terms of the purchase were soon agreed upon by Yeardley's people; 'and they paid for three great rivers, and also all such others as they should like of southerly;' and, in solemn manner, took possession of the country, in the name, and on the behalf of the Commonwealth of England; receiving, as a symbol of its surrender, a turf of earth with an arrow shot into it. The territory, thus yielded by the natives, was that which became afterwards the province of Carolina;

and, as soon as they had withdrawn from it to a region further south, Yeardley built 'the great commander a fair house,' which he promised to 'furnish with English utensils and chattels.' The letter states further, that, through the same agency, Yeardley's people had been introduced to the emperor of the Tuskarorawes, who received them courteously, and invited them to a country of which he spoke in most alluring terms; but, owing to the illness of their interpreter, the offer could not be accepted. Upon the completion of the English house for the Roanoak chief, he came with the Tuskarorawe prince and forty-five others to Yeardley's house; presented his wife and son to be baptized with himself; and offered again the same symbol of the surrender of his whole country to Yeardley; and he, tendering the same to the Commonwealth of England, prayed only that his 'own property and pains might not be forgotten.' The Indian child was then solemnly presented to the minister, before the congregation; and, having been baptized in their presence, was left with Yeardley 'to be bred up a Christian, which God grant him grace (he prays) to become.' Yeardley next goes on to repeat that the charges, incurred by him in taking possession of the country, had already amounted to more than three hundred pounds; and expresses an earnest hope that he should 'not want assistance from good patriots, either by their good words or purses.' He then adds, 'If you think good to acquaint the States with what is done by two Virginians born, you will honour our country;' and

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in conclusion, begs to kiss the hands of his correspondent, 'with the fair hands of' his 'virtuous' country-woman, the worthily to be honoured Mrs. Virginia Farrar.'

There are some points in this letter, which demand a further brief notice. The surnames of the writer and receiver of it, the Christian name of the lady mentioned at its conclusion, and the address which it bears, 'At the manor of Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire,' all bear witness to the fact, that the descendants of those men, who had been among the most distinguished instruments in first planting the Colony of Virginia, were still interested in watching and promoting her welfare. We are thus reminded not only of the difficulties and dangers, which have already been described as the portion of our countrymen who first settled upon the other side of the Atlantic, in the reign of James the First; and those which, by reason of the arbitrary measures of the same monarch, oppressed their associates at home¹⁶⁴; but our thoughts are also carried back to that sequestered sanctuary in which Nicholas Ferrar devoted to the service of his heavenly Master that patient and active zeal which before he had displayed so conspicuously in the House of Commons and Council Chamber of the Virginia Company¹⁶⁵. This fact alone is sufficient to excite our interest, as we pass along. But the interest so excited is succeeded by feelings of a very different nature, at finding that a

¹⁶⁴ See Vol. I. chapters ix. and x. passim.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. chap. x. ad fin.

change has come over the hearts of those who now bore the names of Yeardley and of Ferrar. Yeardley's father had been a true-hearted member of the Church of England;—indeed, the follower of the noble De la Warr, the companion of the saintly Whitaker, could scarcely have failed to walk in their steps. And, with respect to John Ferrar,—if, as I believe, he were the elder and still surviving brother of Nicholas¹⁶⁶,—what brighter example of steadfast piety could have been displayed to the eyes of any man, than that which he had witnessed in the person of that brother? And yet, the eagerness, with which Yeardley, the writer of the above letter, takes possession of the newly-acquired province 'in the name of the Commonwealth of England;' the prompt-

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¹⁶⁶ John Ferrar was alive at the time of his brother's death in 1637; and compiled not only the original MS. from which Dr. Peckard's Memoirs of his brother are taken, but wrote also the MS. Memoir of his own son Nicholas, who died in 1640. This MS. is now in Lambeth Library (No. 251); and Dr. Wordsworth, in the extracts made from it in his Ecclesiastical Biography, (iv. 208, note,) has assigned its date to the year 1658,—the year before that in which Yeardley's letter was written. It is probable, however, that John Ferrar lived even four years longer; for, in the Register of Burials, &c. of the parish of Little Gidding, with a copy of which I have been favoured, through the kindness of the present Rector, the Rev. W. Whall, I find the following entry: 'Sept. 28, 1657. John Ferrar,

Esq.;' and Mr. Whall informs me that the grave of John Ferrar occupies the exact spot which Nicholas marked out for him, in such touching terms, three days before his own death. (Wordsworth, ut sup. iv. 204, note.) There seems no reason therefore to doubt that the John Ferrar, to whom Yeardley's letter was addressed in 1654, was he whose burial is recorded in 1657, namely, the elder brother of Nicholas. I may also remark, that this John Ferrar was married to Bathsheba, daughter of Mr. Owen (Wordsworth, ut sup. iv. 207); and I find an entry in the Parish Register recording the burial of 'Virginia, daughter of John Ferrar and Bathsheba his wife, Jan. 17, 1687.' This Virginia is, doubtless, the lady to whom Yeardley refers at the end of his letter.

tude, with which he writes tidings of that event to John Ferrar; the hope, which he at the same time expresses, that he should 'not want assistance from good patriots, either by their good words or purses;' and the willingness, with which Ferrar promotes Yeardley's views, by delivering his letter into the hands of Thurloe, the Protector's Secretary; all lead inevitably to the conclusion, that the love, which Yeardley and Ferrar ought both to have retained towards the holy Mother in whose bosom they were nurtured, had waxed cold in that day of her adversity; that they had ceased to regard her with that devotion, which once distinguished the men who had borne their honoured names; and were even found siding with her enemies and oppressors. The pressure of those 'sad times,' which Nicholas Ferrar had seen approaching, and of which he spake, upon his dying bed, in terms of such deep solemnity, to his brother John¹⁶⁷, had been too great for the survivor. The exhortation, which, in that parting hour, John had received from his brother, 'to adhere to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England,' and to beware of the 'arrant novelty both of Popery and of Puritanism¹⁶⁸,' must have been wholly set at nought; or he would not have been so forward to strengthen the hands of men who had plundered the endowments, proscribed the Liturgy, defiled the sanctuaries, and driven forth with scorn the ministers of that Church. Nay, the very fact here presented to our

¹⁶⁷ Macdonogh's Life of Ferrar, p. 181.¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 182.

notice, that John Ferrar was again resident upon the manor of Little Gidding, shows that the violence, which had so lately expelled him and his family from that abode, and robbed and defaced the Church belonging to it¹⁶⁹, had been succeeded by an indulgence to return;—an indulgence, which argues something more than mere formal submission to the power of the Protector. And, as for Yeardley, the whole tone of his letter, as well as the facts described in it, prove that he was, with heart and soul, doing the work of Cromwell; and, that, if the Church, which his father had sought so earnestly to set up in the first Transatlantic Colony of England, were regarded by him at all, it was only with indifference or contempt. True, he speaks of the baptism of the Indian child having been administered in the face of the Virginian congregation; but its administration was probably not according to the Order appointed by our Church. For, notwithstanding that Berkeley, as we have seen¹⁷⁰, had succeeded in gaining for Virginia generally a longer respite, than was obtained in any other quarter, from the decree prohibiting all use of the Prayer Book; yet, it can hardly be supposed, that, in a part of the province in which one of the chief settlers was so anxious to propitiate the rulers of the Commonwealth, every thing would not be conducted in such manner only as those rulers had decreed.

With respect to the mode by which the province

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. 218, 219.

¹⁷⁰ See pp. 156—160, *ante*.

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in question thus passed into the possession of the Commonwealth, I know not how it can fail to create the same feelings of regret and disapproval, which attend the recital of well nigh every effort, which has been made to extend our empire, whether in the New or Old World. In some respects, indeed, it has a fair appearance; it is free from any stain of violence and blood, and professes to have been carried forward with a desire to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the Indians. So far, the narrative presents a remarkable contrast to many which have preceded and will follow it. But, what jugglery can be conceived baser, than that of bribing the simple and unsuspecting Indian to part with all the richness of his native territory,—its mountains, forests, rivers, harbours, islands,—for the price of an English house, and its glittering toys; or for the receipt of English money, of which the value was to him utterly unknown?

The earliest English settlers in Carolina, to whom the way of access was thus opened, gathered themselves, in the first instance, around the north-east bank of the river Chowan, which,—being formed by the confluence of three rivers running from Virginia,—falls into Albemarle Sound. A grant of ten thousand acres was made by the Grand Assembly of Virginia, soon after the date of Yeardley's letter, to the first hundred persons who should seat themselves in that district; and a special grant of a thousand acres was also made to 'Roger Greene, clarke,' who, upon his own petition, requested leave

to settle there¹⁷¹. But no traces, I believe, remain of the proceedings of him, or of any others, who resorted thither during the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, the year of the Restoration, 1660, was marked by the arrival of another party in the vicinity of the same region, who acted without any regard to the authority either of Virginia, or of England. They belonged to the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts; and, following no other guidance but that of their own arbitrary and independent will, settled at Cape Fear, which is about two degrees south of Albemarle Sound.

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The reader's attention is called to these circumstances, that he may see the difficulties which were ready to spring up in the way of colonizing Carolina, according to the provisions of the Charter which Charles the Second was pleased to grant, on the 24th of March 1662-3. The scheme, propounded in that document, was grand and imposing; but, every thing which could obstruct its progress was already in operation, in the country for which it was designed. The avowed objects of the Charter were 'the propagation of the Christian faith, and the enlargement of the King's empire;' and, to secure these, the amplest privileges and jurisdictions were conferred upon the following distinguished persons, eight in number, who were constituted 'Lords Proprietors of Carolina,' namely, Lord Chancellor Clarendon; Monk, Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord Craven; John, Lord

The first
Carolina
Charter,
1662-3.

¹⁷¹ Hening, i. 380, 381.

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Its provisions respecting the Church,

Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Ashley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards the first Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir George Carteret, then Vice-Chamberlain; Sir William Berkeley, then governor of Virginia; and Sir John Colleton. After granting to them, their heirs and assigns, in the fullest and most unreserved terms, the whole territory lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of North latitude, the Charter further secured to them, by the third Article, the 'patronage and advowsons of all the churches and chapels, which, as the Christian religion shall increase within the country, isles, and limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with licence and power to build and found churches, chapels, and oratories, in convenient and fit places, within the said bounds and limits, and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England, together with all and singular the like and as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, and Franchises, of what kind soever, within the countries, isles, islets, and limits aforesaid.' The same Palatinate jurisdiction, which has been noticed in the Charters of Maryland and Maine, was conferred upon the Proprietors, accompanied with the condition of paying yearly to the King twenty marks, and the fourth part of whatsoever gold or silver might be discovered in the country.

And those not in communion with her.

The following enactment of the eighteenth Article, —touching the conduct to be pursued towards those

who were not in communion with the Church of England,—deserves notice, as illustrating the policy first pursued at the time of the Restoration: ‘And, because it may happen that some of the people and inhabitants of the said province, cannot in their private opinions conform to the public exercises of religion according to the Liturgy, Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf, and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of these places, will, we hope, be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation, Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Edward, &c., their heirs and assigns, full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give and grant unto such person and persons, inhabiting and being within the said Province, or any other part thereof, who really in their judgments and for conscience sake, cannot or shall not conform to the said Liturgy and Ceremonies, and take and subscribe the Oaths and Articles aforesaid, or any of them, such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf, for and during such time and times, and with such limitations and restrictions, as they, the said Edward, &c., shall in their discretion think fit and reasonable; and with this express provision and limitation also that such person and persons, to whom such indulgences and dispensations shall be granted as aforesaid, do and

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shall, from time to time, declare and continue all fidelity and loyalty and obedience to us, our heirs and successors, and be subject and obedient to all other the laws, ordinances, and constitutions of the said Province, in all matters whatsoever, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and do not in any wise disturb the peace and safety thereof, or scandalize and reproach the said Liturgy, Forms, or Ceremonies, or any thing relating thereunto, or any person or persons whatsoever, for or in respect of his or their use or exercise thereof, or his or their obedience or conformity thereunto ¹⁷².'

Instructions similar to those given in the above Article, were repeated to Sir John Yeamans, a royalist, who, in January, 1664-5, arrived in Carolina from Barbados, with a band of emigrants as needy as himself, and obtained a grant of land, named Clarendon, with a separate jurisdiction, near the settlement which the emigrants from Massachusetts had established at Cape Fear. He was directed to do every thing in his power to encourage emigration from the same stronghold of Puritanism;—assuredly, a short-sighted policy,—since the majority of those, who would be likely to come thence into his district, were men whose political and religious prejudices were altogether opposed to his own ¹⁷³.

To Berkeley, the brave and loyal governor of Virginia, had been entrusted, from the first issuing

¹⁷² The first Carolina Charter, *gis*lature. Columbia, U. S. 1836. prefixed to the Statutes at large,
¹⁷³ Chalmers, 521. edited under authority of the Le-

of the Carolina Charter, the arduous task of controlling the various and discordant materials of which the new Colony was composed¹⁷⁴: and William Drummond was appointed by him its first governor. But the traces which remain of the history of Carolina, at this period, are so few, that, but for the insertion of Drummond's name and office among the Commissioners appointed, under an Act of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1666, to stop the growth of tobacco for one year¹⁷⁵, it would have been difficult to ascertain even the fact of his appointment.

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Drummond
the first
governor
of Carolina.

Before any progress could be made in accomplishing the objects proposed by the first Charter of Carolina, a second was granted to the same Proprietors, enlarging, to an enormous extent, the limits of the country originally assigned to them; confirming all their former privileges; and bestowing upon them others yet more large and absolute. The Charter bears date the thirtieth of June, 1665. The boundaries, which it professed to lay down, were the twenty-ninth and thirty-sixth parallels of North latitude, and a line westward as far as the South Seas¹⁷⁶. In other words, it marked out for this

Its second
Charter,
1665.

¹⁷⁴ The letter, Sept. 8, 1663, conferring this authority upon Berkeley, is given at length by Chalmers, 553—555.

¹⁷⁵ Hening, ii. 226. Bancroft, ii. 136, supposes that Drummond was a Presbyterian, but gives no authority for the opinion. Bearing in mind the course of eccle-

siastical affairs at home, and the character of the Proprietors of Carolina, I cannot think it probable that the government of that Colony should, at such a crisis, have been entrusted to a Presbyterian.

¹⁷⁶ See the Charter prefixed to the Carolina Statutes, ut sup.

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single Colony all that territory which now comprises the States of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, and parts of Florida, Texas, and Mexico. Merely to announce such a design is to demonstrate its utter vanity. It was an attempt to raise the superstructure of a huge empire, for which no foundation had been laid; an assumption of absolute rule over countries, to the possession of which no right whatsoever had been established. Failure, therefore, was as inevitable, as it was deserved. And, hence, it is with no hopeful feelings that we read, in the third and eighteenth Articles of this Charter, the same provisions with respect to the Church and those who were not in communion with her, which have been noticed in the corresponding Articles of the former Charter. We are constrained to look upon the recital of them only as vain words. It is impossible to believe that any portion of the work, therein proposed to be done, could even be commenced upon such a basis, and at such a time.

Constitutions drawn up by Locke, 1669.

The celebrated Locke, indeed, came forward to give the support of his name and counsel to the Colony of Carolina. He did this, at the request of one of the most influential of the Proprietors, Lord Ashley, whose acquaintance he had first formed at Oxford, in 1666; having been summoned, in his medical capacity, to visit that nobleman when he was suffering from severe illness. An intimate friendship between them soon followed; upon the strength of which, Locke drew up certain laws, bearing date

March 1, 1669, and entitled 'The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina'¹⁷. But the wisdom of the philosopher availed as little as the authority of the statesman towards the prosecution of a work, for which there were neither the materials nor instruments fitted to bring it to a successful issue. Locke strove, indeed, to keep up the same lordly pretensions which had distinguished the Royal Charters; reciting, in the preamble of the document, the privileges of the Palatinate conferred upon the Proprietors, and enumerating, in the body of the Constitutions themselves, the various offices proposed to be erected under their authority,—not only those already known in England of Chamberlain, Chancellor, High-steward, &c., but others to be bestowed upon the future nobles of Carolina, who were to receive the titles of signors, and landgraves, or cassiques, and to whom, in various order and degree, the rights belonging to the territorial divisions of their several baronies, stretching over thousands and thousands of acres, were ordered to be secured.

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Amid these and many other high-sounding schemes of colonial dominion,—all destined to be as abortive in their issue, as they were ostentatious in their promise,—occurs the following Constitution (the ninety-sixth) respecting the Church:—'As the country comes to be sufficiently planted, and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the Parliament to

Provi-
sions con-
tained there-
in on the
subject of
religion.

¹⁷ Locke's Life prefixed to his Works, i. xxiv. xxv.

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take care for the building of churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the Church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance, by grant of Parliament.' Some such enactment as this was to be looked for by any one who bears in mind the terms of the third Article, upon the same subject, which occurs in both the Carolina Charters; and the limitations, provided for those not in communion with the Church, against any injustice or hardship which might result to them from the operation of such an enactment, will also be fresh in the recollection of the reader who has noted the terms of the eighteenth Article, just now cited from the same Charters. Doubtless, it was open to any one, who denied the truth and justice of the propositions contained in the third Article, to controvert them; and, if he could not approve of the Charter which embodied and gave authority to them, his obvious duty would have been to refrain from sharing either its present responsibility, or future advantages. But this was not the course which Locke followed. He went along with the promoters of the scheme, apparently in perfect unison; undertook, at the instigation of one of the chief Proprietors, to give effect to the vast powers with which they were entrusted; and actually consented to receive, in his own person,

a share of the honours and profits which were likely to arise, by being created a landgrave, or cassique, of Carolina ¹⁷⁸. CHAP. XVII.

It is difficult therefore to understand the grounds upon which the statement has been made by his biographer and editor of his works, that Locke objected to the insertion of the ninety-sixth Constitution; for, if the statement be true, it was nothing else than objecting to a corollary inevitably deduced from the propositions laid down in the only instrument which gave to him, or to any person interested in the welfare of Carolina, any right of ownership and dominion. There is a vagueness also and inconsistency, in the manner in which the above statement has been made, which gives further cause to doubt its correctness. The editor states, in a note at the foot of the page which recites the passage, that 'Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends, to whom he presented a copy of these Constitutions, that 'this article was not drawn up by' him; 'but inserted by some of the chief Proprietors against his judgment ¹⁷⁹.' Whereas, in the history of his life, prefixed to his works, it is said, that he 'had formed articles relative to religion and public worship, on those liberal and enlarged principles of toleration which were so agreeable to the sentiments of his enlightened mind; but some of the clergy, jealous of such provisions as might prove an obstacle to their ascendancy, expressed their disap-

Locke's views respecting it.

¹⁷⁸ Chalmers, 528.

¹⁷⁹ Locke's Works, x. 194.

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probation of them, and procured an additional article to be inserted, securing the countenance and support of the state only to the exercise of religion according to the discipline of the established church ¹⁸⁰. These statements are not in accordance with each other. The clergy were not the Proprietors; nor had they any thing whatsoever to do with the formation or management of the Colony. True, some among them might once have had influence with Clarendon; and he, being 'one of the chief Proprietors,' may be said to have procured the insertion of the clause in question. But this was not possible; for he had fallen into disgrace, and left the kingdom, towards the end of the year 1667 ¹⁸¹; whereas the Constitutions of Carolina were not drawn up by Locke until the spring of 1669. Neither was it at all probable that such a project would have been urged by Ashley, the friend of Locke, and second only to Clarendon in his influence among the Proprietors; for his enmity against Clarendon ¹⁸², and the diversity of their opinions and characters, are a sufficient warrant for believing that he would rather have hindered, than promoted, any designs which might have been thought acceptable to Clarendon or his friends. It seems reasonable, therefore, that we should possess some more definite information than any which, as far as I can learn, has yet been made public, before we can acquiesce

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. i. xxv, xxvi.

¹⁸¹ Life of Clarendon, iii. 332.

¹⁸² Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, iii. 304.

in the truth of the above statement respecting Locke's views upon this subject.

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Some other of the Constitutions here call for a brief notice, which were evidently framed for the purpose of ensuring the full and faithful observance of the eighteenth Article of the Charters, and by which it was hoped that civil peace might be preserved, amid diversity of opinions. The ninety-fifth, for instance, was to this effect: 'No man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God; and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped.' And, under the ninety-seventh, it was provided that 'any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name, to distinguish it from others.' But, whilst this free liberty was given to men's opinions, and other enactments, following the above, were added to guard it from violation, it was still enjoined, that 'No person above seventeen years of age, shall have any benefit or protection of the law, or be capable of any place of profit or honour, who is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one, and but one religious record, at once.' And further, the power of the civil registrar, in each signiory and barony, was so entirely to supersede every other, that 'no marriage' could be accounted 'lawful, whatever contract or ceremony they might have used, till both the parties mutually owned it before the register of the place where they were

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by him ¹⁸³.

And slavery. Two more of the Constitutions, relating to slavery, also demand attention. In the hundred and seventh, after reciting the general principles that 'charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men,' and that 'religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate and right,' it is declared to be 'lawful for slaves, as well as others, to enter themselves and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman.' But, instead of holding out any prospect of freedom from slavery, or providing any securities by which the harshness and tyranny of hard masters might be restrained, it is stated, at the end of the same Article, and again more explicitly in the hundred and tenth, that 'Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.' No qualifying note is appended by the editor to these Articles to show that Locke was not fully responsible for them. They stand, as if not the slightest apology or explanation were required to account for their appearance. And, it is remarkable, that, at a time when some of the clergy of the Church of England, both at home and abroad, were endeavouring to mitigate, or put a stop to, the sufferings of slavery in the English Colonies, he, who was so quick to censure any doctrine of theirs, which

¹⁸³ Constitutions civ. and lxxxvii. ut sup.

might seem to trench upon the liberty of the subject¹⁸⁴,—even the sagacious and calm philosopher, the zealous upholder of toleration, the vindicator of the rights of conscience,—had not one word of hope or of comfort to speak in defence of the oppressed bondman.

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The reader, who compares the provisions contained in the above Constitutions and Charters with the remote country and differing inhabitants over which they professed to establish their jurisdiction, and observes the contrast between the lofty arrogance of their pretensions, and the wretched weakness and confusion of the differing elements which they essayed to regulate, must feel that the whole scheme would prove a splendid failure. And this it was quickly seen to be. Of the Proprietors, who, with the single exception of Sir William Berkeley, were all far removed from the scene of their imagined grandeur, we have seen that one, and he, the foremost of them, Lord Clarendon, was driven into exile, in 1667, soon after the issuing of the second Charter. In a few years more, the Earl of Shaftesbury fell into disgrace. The means, therefore, of working the cumbrous machinery of this Colony, were impaired at the very outset. Meanwhile, it had become necessary for the temporary Council, which had been convened at Albemarle, then the chief county in the Colony, to enact for their protection such laws as they had authority to frame¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁴ See his Letter from a Person of Quality, Works, &c., x. 200. 246.

¹⁸⁵ Chalmers, 524—526.

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The Constitutions sent from England were found inconsistent with the existing order of things. The Colonists refused, in consequence, to submit to them; the Proprietors insisted upon submission; the governor, Samuel Stevens, who had succeeded Drummond, strove, with the prudence that marked his character, to mediate between the contending parties; but all in vain. The very first pages, therefore, of the history of Carolina speak only of discord and misrule; and, in 1693, the Constitutions of Locke were formally abrogated by the authorities at home¹⁸⁶. Fresh spaces, indeed, within the vast territory of Carolina were gradually filled up, during those years of anarchy. The pompous title of Palatine, —first conferred upon Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and, upon his death, in 1670, transferred to Lord Berkeley,—remained a witness of the proud thoughts of those who had assumed this territory as their own. Their names, and the names of the rest of the Proprietors, were successively given to rivers, capes, straits, and counties throughout the land; and the foundations of Charles Town, so called in honour of the King from whom their empty authority was derived, were first laid, in 1671, on the banks of Ashley River. In 1680, the place for the general administration of government was transferred from that to another site, on the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers¹⁸⁷; and the foundations of a second town were there laid, bearing the name, which it still

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 552.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 528—530 and 541; and Dalcho, 20.

retains of Charleston, and which is the present metropolis of South Carolina¹⁸⁸. Thus money, counsel, and labour were freely and unceasingly expended; but, with such fatal jealousy and strife at work between the governors and governed, every hope was at the time disappointed. The general historian has recorded the details of each humiliating scene¹⁸⁹; among which those connected with Culpepper's insurrection and acquittal, and the infamous government of Seth Sothel¹⁹⁰, are the most conspicuous. But, as I have sought in vain, among the documents from which these narratives have been drawn, for any information which can throw light upon the particular object of the present work, I shall dismiss them with this one remark, that, for the space of nearly twenty years from the date of the first Carolina Charter, not a clergyman was sent to that province¹⁹¹, nor any visible token set up within its borders to show that it was the possession of a Christian country. Howsoever the circumstances which have been related above may explain the cause of this, the fact itself is not to be denied.

Before I close this chapter, it is important to notice the emigration of the Huguenots¹⁹² into some of the southern parts of Carolina, at the end of Charles the Second's reign. I have before adverted to the

Emigration
of Hugue-
nots.

¹⁸⁸ It was not until 1728 that the territory was divided into North and South Carolina.

¹⁸⁹ Chalmers, 527—529.

¹⁹⁰ He had become a Proprietor of Carolina by purchasing the rights of Lord Clarendon; and was go-

vernor of that province from 1683 to 1688. Bancroft, ii. 159—164.

¹⁹¹ Chalmers, 525.

¹⁹² For the etymology of this word, see Browning's History of the Huguenots. Appendix. No. iii.

fact that a like asylum had been opened for them in Jamaica, and that Bishop Compton was directly concerned in the measures which were there ordered to be taken for their relief¹⁹³. But the renewal of the same fact in the history of Carolina, and the character of those events in the history of France, which led to the expression of this sympathy with so many of her distressed subjects, makes it necessary to advert more minutely to their condition. The preceding century (1572) had already witnessed the murderous vengeance with which the Roman Catholic rulers of France persecuted those of its inhabitants who dared to assume the name of Protestant; and the horrors which Paris then witnessed, on the feast of St. Bartholomew,—renewed, with circumstances of like atrocity, in the various provinces of France,—were deemed by Gregory XIII. worthy of being celebrated by a public jubilee¹⁹⁴. A few years afterwards,—oppression having failed to destroy the Huguenots,—a different policy was pursued towards them; and, at length, in 1598, the celebrated edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV., secured to them not only the most ample toleration of their religious worship, but many important political rights. But this was only for a time. The jealousy of their enemies was still awake; their own injudicious zeal quickened it oftentimes into fierce action; and, in the reign of

¹⁹³ See p. 485, *ante*.

¹⁹⁴ I have before called the reader's attention to the copy, in

Strype's Life of Parker, of the bull issued for this purpose. Vol. i. c. vii. in loc.

Lewis XIII., all the resources of Richelieu, his minister, were brought to bear against them. After enduring the worst miseries of a long siege, Rochelle, their chief stronghold, was taken from them, and annexed to the French Crown. As soon as their energies had been thus broken, and their hopes defeated, every method, which a dexterous policy could suggest, was employed to bribe, or terrify, them into submission to Rome: but in vain. At length, in 1685, under the administration of Colbert, who had succeeded Mazarin in the office of minister to Lewis XIV, the edict of Nantes was revoked; and the Huguenots were left a prey to the persecutor. Thousands of them fell beneath the sword; others were consigned to the lash, or to the galleys; others were made to suffer tortures yet more horrible, and that, without any distinction of age, or rank, or sex; others perished in the mountains, whither they had fled for shelter. The law made it felony that any should attempt to escape; nevertheless, multitudes made good their flight,—some have computed them at an amount of more than four hundred thousand,—and found, amid the various nations of Europe, and in England and her Colonies, a safe refuge from the destroyer. Carrying with them their knowledge and skill in manufacturing and mechanical arts, they repaid, in some degree, by the introduction of these into the different countries in which they found a resting place, that generous sympathy, which, without the hope or prospect of any such return, had been extended

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to them¹⁹⁵. The history of London, for instance, to this day bears witness to the settlement which many of the persecuted artizans of France then made in the outskirts of her city, and to the success with which they there resumed their labours; and the annals of our Colonial possessions, throughout the same period, exhibit, in different ways, evidences of the same fact. In the provinces of New England, in New York, Virginia, and Maryland, the suffering Huguenots met with shelter and protection. But South Carolina, with its soft and genial climate, so closely resembling that of their own native land, was the province which seemed to hold out the greatest attractions for them; and to which they resorted in greatest numbers. 'They have found

¹⁹⁵ Browning's History of the Huguenots, in loc. There was one, appointed to a high trust by Lewis XIV., whose counsels, if they had been listened to, would have restrained that King from inflicting such cruel injustice upon his Huguenot subjects. I mean the Prelate, to whose care he had confided the education of his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, and heir of the French crown,—the wise and pious Fénelon. The following admirable passage occurs in his Direction pour la Conscience d'un Roi: 'Sur toute chose, ne forcez jamais vos sujets à changer de religion. Nulle puissance humaine ne peut forcer le retranchement impénétrable de la liberté du cœur. La force ne peut jamais persuader les hommes; elle ne fait que des hypocrites. Quand les rois se mêlent de religion, au lieu de la protéger, ils la mettent

en servitude. Accordez à tous la tolerance civile, non en approuvant tout comme indifférent, mais en souffrant avec patience tout ce que Dieu souffre, et en tâchant de ramener les hommes par une douce persuasion.' It is true that the publication of this work of Fénelon, and also of his *Telemachus*, which contains such a precious fund of truth and wisdom, was not published for many years afterwards. But this does not detract from the credit due to him for cherishing and communicating, as far as he was able, such just principles of action. It only proves, as Dugald Stewart has justly remarked in his Preliminary Dissertation, p. 83, (where he cites the above passage,) that this celebrated prelate 'had shot far a-head of the orthodox religion and politics of his times.'

here,' says a Swiss emigrant, writing a few years later, 'a safe and pleasant retreat from the rigid Church discipline of their dragooning Apostles. They live in good friendship with, and are belov'd by the English, who, being sensible that their assistance has contributed not a little to improve the country, have been ready to oblige them on all occasions, where it lay in their power; as in passing general laws of naturalization, admitting them into all posts, civil and military. And this good understanding not only continues, but increases daily by intermarriages¹⁹⁶.' The influence, which this circumstance had upon our Church in Carolina, will appear hereafter. I have only directed the attention of the reader, as I pass on, to this important fact in the early history of the province.

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* * * In my notice, in the above chapter, of the relations which existed between this country and India, during the reign of Charles the Second, I expressed my belief (p. 469) that one Chaplain at least had been appointed to Bombay before the year 1685, although the building of a Church in that Island was not completed until 1715. This belief was founded upon the general impression, which I had received from the different authorities which I had consulted; yet I did not advance it as a thing

¹⁹⁶ Letter from South Carolina, by a Swiss Gentleman, to his friend at Bern, p. 41.

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certain, for I had no distinct evidence upon which I could rely. But, since the sheet was printed off, a list has been most kindly forwarded to me, from the East India House, of the Chaplains in India and St. Helena, who were appointed prior to the Union of the two Companies; from which it appears, that, during the reign of Charles the Second, no less than fourteen Chaplains were appointed, by what was then termed the Court of Committees, to different stations in India, and one to St. Helena. Of these, three were appointed to Bombay; one in 1671, another in 1672, and a third in 1679. It is a great satisfaction, therefore, to me to find that what I had before advanced as a reasonable conjecture, now turns out to be a fact established by undeniable proof. Eight more Chaplains were appointed, between the end of Charles the Second's reign and the year 1700. The whole number, therefore, was twenty-three, of whom two were prevented from proceeding to their respective destinations. See Appendix, No. III., where the list is given.

I avail myself also of this opportunity to strengthen what has been before said, concerning the valuable services of Mr. Streyntsham Master, governor of Madras, and founder of the first English Church in India, (p. 470,) by referring the reader to a testimony which had escaped my attention before; namely, the note by Professor Wilson to his edition of Mill's History of British India, i. 99. Having stated therein his belief that scant justice has been done to the upholders of the British name in India, at that

period, he goes on to relate an anecdote of Mr. Master, which proves him to have been a man of undaunted resolution and courage. I only do not subjoin the anecdote in this place, because I will not withhold from the reader the benefit of consulting for himself that valuable work, and its continuation by its learned editor. CHAP.
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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, ABROAD AND AT HOME,
IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES AND JAMES THE
SECOND, AND OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.

A. D. 1660—1702.

THE BERMUDAS—Divisions there prevalent—VIRGINIA—Acts referring to Colleges and Schools—Severity of other Acts—Acts concerning the Indians—Instructions to Berkeley—Conspiracy—Baptism of slaves—Bacon's rebellion—Berkeley's recall—Death and character—Godwyn's description of the Virginia clergy—Pamphlet, entitled 'Virginia's Cure,' &c.—Its enumeration of evils which afflicted the Church there—Its proposal of remedies—Its demand for a Bishop—Its testimony to the affectionate spirit of the Virginians—Abortive attempt to send a Bishop to Virginia—Sir Leo- line Jenkins—His Will—The Universities of England—The claims of her Colonies upon them—Virginia, under Culpepper, Effingham, at the Revolution, under Nicholson, Andros, and Nicholson, a second time—The Rev. James Blair, Commissary—William and Mary College—Difficulties of Blair and the Virginia Clergy under Andros—Defects in Blair's character—MARYLAND—The Rev. Mr. Yeo—The Church of England established in the province—Nicholson, governor—Petition of the clergy for a Bishop—Dr. Bray, commissary—His services at home and abroad—DELAWARE—PENNSYLVANIA—NEW YORK—NEW JERSEY—THE NEW ENGLAND Colonies—The witchcraft delusion—The first Church in Boston, belonging to the Church of England—HUDSON'S BAY—The Moravians—CAROLINA—WEST INDIES—INDIA—Prideaux—The Church of England at home, from 1684 to 1702—Boyle—SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE—SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS—Reflections thereon.

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THE BERMUDAS.

In glancing at that portion of the map, which comprises the regions noticed towards the end of the

last chapter,—namely, the West Indies and Carolina,—the eye cannot fail to distinguish, amid the Atlantic which rolls between them, the Bermudas, or Somers' Isles, to which the attention of the reader has been so frequently directed in the course of these Volumes¹. I ask him to regard them for a few moments, once more, because their history exhibits, with singular distinctness, the operation of those evil influences which now constituted the trial of our Church at home, and were felt by her in every quarter of the globe, to which the government, or commerce, of England extended.

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A Letter, addressed by Charles the Second, Feb. 17, 1661-2, to Edward, Earl of Manchester, proves that the governorship of these Islands had been conferred upon that nobleman, who was then Lord Chamberlain. The purport of the letter was to require that the Council be convened, and a careful survey made of all their records, in order that the lands and houses which certain parties, named in the Letter, had possessed in 1648, might be restored to them². In 1676, appears another Letter, addressed by the Privy Council Committee of Trade and Plantations to the Governor and Company of the Bermudas, and setting forth certain heads of enquiry, with respect to the condition of the Islands, at that time, to which answers are demanded. The answers, which were received in 1679, state that the Islands

Divisions
there pre-
valent.

¹ See chapters ix. xi. and xiv.

² MSS. (Bermudas) State Paper Office. In Beatson's Political Index,

iii. 454, a chasm occurs in the list of governors from 1619 to 1698.

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were governed by a deputy, and council of eight persons, chosen yearly by the Bermudas Company out of each of the eight Tribes, besides a Sheriff and Secretary, who were *ex officio* members. There was also a General Assembly, consisting of the governor and a council of forty persons, chosen by the respective Tribes, and entrusted with the power of making Laws and Orders, which required to be confirmed by the Company at home, before they could be enforced. Other particulars are also given, touching the forts then erected in the Islands, the military force, the extent of settled lands in each Tribe, the population, &c. of which it is here only necessary to advert to some which bear upon our present subject. Each Tribe constituted a distinct Parish; and their whole population, at that time, appears to have been very little under its present amount². A large majority were slaves; and of the whites, blacks, and mulattoes, who were born,—at the average rate of a hundred and twenty annually,—about half were baptized. Nine Churches were then erected in the Islands, and five ministers officiating in them, who, it is said, were sufficient for them all, and the Company provided an annual stipend of forty pounds, a house, and two shares of land, for each minister. If this single fact had been all that is related of the condition of the Church in the Bermudas, it might have been inferred that her condition was more hopeful, and the opportunities of receiving the

² See Parliamentary Report in Appendix (No. III.) to Vol. i.

benefit of her ministrations greater, than any which existed in the other Colonial possessions of England, at this time ⁴. But,—whilst the erection of so many Churches is, as I have already remarked ⁵, proof indubitable of the zeal and piety of those members of our own communion who resorted thither, during the first outbreak of domestic troubles in England,—it appears, that they were soon afterwards overwhelmed with the crowds of sectaries who were poured upon the same shores. CHAP.
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Some intimation of this fact has been given, in my previous notice of the residence of Leverton and Oxenbridge in these Islands ⁶. But the document, to which I am now referring, shows that the number of non-conformist settlers, in the early part of Charles the Second's reign, had so far exceeded that of the members of our Church, that the influence of the latter was nearly annihilated. Two-thirds of all the inhabitants, it is stated, were Presbyterians; of the remainder, several were Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers ⁷; and the few clergy of our Church, who still lingered on, were either rebels against her authority, or defective and reluctant observers of it. Meanwhile, discontent was spreading rapidly throughout the Islands. The inhabitants addressed petitions to the King, charging the Company with mal-administration of their powers, and praying for enquiry. These were referred to the Privy Council Committee, who, deeming the defence

⁴ MSS. ut sup.

⁵ See p. 178, *ante*.

⁶ See p. 245, *ante*.

⁷ MSS. ut sup. 49—62.

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made by the Company, against the charges therein contained, unsatisfactory, recommended that the Company should agree to leave all the controverted matters to their decision, or that a writ of *Quo Warranto* should issue against them. The Company preferred the latter course; and, the trial having taken place, they were convicted of divers misdemeanours, and judgment was delivered accordingly in Trinity Term, 1684, for the dissolution of their body⁸. Richard Coney, then residing in the Islands, was appointed deputy-governor, under a royal commission, dated Dec. 24, 1684; and dispatches were speedily received from him, giving a piteous account, not only of the personal ill-treatment to which he was exposed, but also of the disorganization which prevailed, from a belief, that, by the dissolution of the Company, all authority, of whatsoever kind, was at an end. His complaints were met by others of gross misconduct, which the settlers advanced against him. These, however, were either not listened to, or were proved groundless; for, upon the accession of James the Second, a second commission was sent out to Coney, investing him with ampler powers for the execution of his trust. Among these, was a renewal of the authority, which had been before given to various Colonial governors, to 'collate persons to Churches, Chapels, or other Ecclesiastical Benefices within the Islands, as often as they shall happen to be void.' Such

⁸ Ibid. 62—114.

authority,—in the present instance, at least,—was a mere mockery: for, in addition to the difficulties before mentioned, Coney states, in his answer, acknowledging the receipt of this commission, that the inhabitants were in a state of mutiny; and that the clergy also were much discontented, in consequence of their not having been confirmed by the King in possession of their lands, or receiving any longer the annual stipend which they had enjoyed under the Company⁹. The governor was, in his turn, assailed with fresh charges; among which was one which accused him with assuming ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by granting probates of wills, administrations, and licences; to which he replies, that, as the clergy had refused to bear any part in such jurisdiction, it was no fault in him to exercise it. Two of the clergy, Mr. Bond and Mr. Vaughan, are especially described by him as ‘much disgusted’ at not having received their customary dues, and doing ‘ill offices’ in consequence. ‘Mr. Vaughan,’ he writes, ‘at my first coming into this country profest himself of the Church of England, and, as hee told me, went into England to take orders; but Mr. Bond overruled him, and now both of them are enemys to y^e Church of England and to government, which gives y^e Quakers occasion to call them hirelings.’ In another letter, again, he speaks of Mr. Vaughan as being the holder of three slaves, ‘the which he keeps, and will keep, because hee preacheth,

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⁹ Ibid. 115—159.

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but will not conform to y^e Church of England.' And then he adds,—as if to apologize for all this disgraceful conduct and confusion, and his own utter inability to repair it,—‘I meddle not with any person concerning religion, nor ever did. I have noe orders for it.’ His letters, in the following year, 1685-6, abound with representations of a like character. I cite one, as a sample of the rest, exhibiting a vivid picture of the degradation into which religious discord had plunged these Islands: ‘I received,’ he writes, ‘a letter directed to y^e first Clergyman in Bermudas; by y^e seal I suppose it came from my Lord Bishop of London. None would receive it, except old Wm. Righton, formerly a preacher here, now turn’d lawyer, a tayler by trade, and a long time serv’ to Hugh Peters. Hee would have open’d it, saying it belong’d only to him, but I would not permit him. Our Parish, when Mr. Vaughan return’d from England, did expect hee should have read y^e Common Prayer and administered y^e Sacrament of y^e Lord’s Supper;—few in y^e Island know what it is, more than by relating of aged people who formerly liv’d in England;—and not to have flung of his canonical gown, and, after a chapter read by a silly clerk, and a Psalm sung soe irreverently, to step into y^e Pulpit. The Parish is soe much troubled at it, that few or none will contribute their benevolence towards him¹⁰.’

Turning now from the Bermudas, within whose

¹⁰ Ibid. 168—188.

narrow limits these sad evils were experienced, let us take a survey of what was passing in the continent of North America. CHAP. XVIII.

The records of Virginia,—which first claims our regard,—present many events of interest during the reign of Charles the Second. Berkeley,—still governor of the province,—went home early in 1661, to obtain redress for many grievances of which the Colonists complained; and Colonel Francis Morrison was elected governor by the Council, until his return, which took place in the following year¹¹. In the proceedings of the General Assembly, held before his departure, the observance of the 30th of January, and the 29th of May, was appointed, as days of solemn commemoration of the two events which distinguished them in the annals of English history. Further arrangements also were made with respect to the constitution of Parochial Vestries, the number of their members, their obligation to take the oath of allegiance, and their authority to make agreement with the respective ministers as to the amount of their maintenance¹². But, more important than any of these was another Act, which confessed ‘the want of able and faithfull ministers,’ caused by the great distance of the Colony from England; and which ordered, ‘that, for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land

Acts with reference to Colleges and Schools.

¹¹ Hening, ii. vii. and 17.

¹² This amount is fixed in a later Act, at not less than eighty pounds

a year, ‘besides perquisites and glebe.’ Ibid. 45.

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taken upon purchases for a colledge and free schoole, and, that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers.' It was ordered also, by the same Assembly, that, in all Parishes destitute of incumbents, 'readers of sufficient abilities should be chosen by the advice, and with the approbation of the next adjacent ministers,' and 'appointed to reade the prayers and homilies of the Church (where they can be procured) and to catechise children and servants according to' its form. It was further enacted that 'a church should be decently built in each Parish,' and that the Parishes should provide Bibles, and Books of Common Prayer, and Communion Plate, &c. for the due celebration of Divine worship; and glebes 'with convenient houseing and stockes upon the same' for 'the encouragement and better accommodation' of ministers. And, last of all, a Petition to the King was drawn up, and recommended to the support of Berkeley, praying for 'letters patents to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England for the erecting of colledges and schooles in this cuntrye, and also for his majesties letters to both universities of Oxford and Cambridge to furnish the Church here with ministers for the present¹³.' It was, probably, with a view to press these and other like matters upon the attention of the people in England, that Mr. Philip Mallory, a

¹³ Ibid. 24—31.

clergyman of high reputation in Virginia, was appointed to undertake the mission which, I have before said, was assigned to him¹⁴. But his voice could not be heard, amid the clamour of conflicting interests which then prevailed in England.

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The contributions, made by the governor, council of state, and burgesses, towards the erection of the College referred to in the above Acts, are distinctly mentioned in subsequent proceedings of the same Assembly; and it was further ordered, that the commissioners of the several county courts should subscribe, and receive subscriptions, in promotion of the work, and that the amount should be returned to Morrison¹⁵.

Orders were also passed by the same Assembly for the due observance of the Sabbath Day, and for the celebration of marriages, &c., in terms substantially the same with those made in former years, and already noticed in this Volume; and like penalties were affixed to their violation. In one respect, indeed, I find a penalty, now recorded, against an offence of which no mention was made in the earlier days of the Colony. It was evidently a result of the growth of Anabaptism at home; and a striking specimen of the miseries of religious strife. In consequence of the alleged averseness of 'many scismaticall persons to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new fangled conceits of their owne hereticall inventions,' it appears that they had

Severity of
other Acts.

¹⁴ See note, p. 131, *ante*.

¹⁵ Hening, ii. 37.

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refused 'to have their children baptised ;' and, it was therefore enacted, 'that all persons, that, in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptisme, shall refuse, when they may carry their child to a lawfull minister in that county to have them baptised, shall be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco, halfe to the informer, halfe to the publique ¹⁶.'

The severity, moreover, towards Quakers, which has been before pointed out, was soon manifested again; for an order appears in the records of the present Assembly, 'that all Quakers for assembling in unlawful assemblages and conventicles be fined, and pay, each of them there taken, two hundred pounds of tobacco for each time they shall be for such unlawful meeting presented by the churchwardens to the county court, and in case of the insolvency of any person amonge them, the more able then taken to pay for them, one halfe to the informer and the other halfe to the publique ¹⁷.' And, two years afterwards, in addition to the above penalties, banishment from the Colony was adjudged for the third offence; and all masters of vessels bringing Quakers to the county, or persons harbouring them in their houses for the purpose of teaching, were to be visited with like penalties ¹⁸. Corporal punishments, indeed, for different offences appear to have been frequently resorted to throughout the Colony, if we may judge from the ample provision made for the instruments of their infliction; for it was 'enacted,

¹⁶ Ibid. 165.

¹⁷ Ibid. 48.

¹⁸ Ibid. 181—183.

that in every county, the court cause to be sett up a pillory, a pair of stocks, and a whipping post, neere the court house, and a ducking-stoole in such a place as they shall think convenient, that such offenders, as by the laws are to suffer by any of them, may be punished according to their demeritts. And the courts not causeing the said' instruments to be erected, 'within six months after the date of the act, were to be fined five thousand pounds of tobacco to the use of the publike'¹⁹.

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A more welcome subject of notice is that supplied in the digest of laws, made by the same Assembly, for the better treatment of the Indians. Thus, with the view of protecting them from the fraud or violence of English planters, it was ordered that no more contracts for the sale of their lands to the latter should be permitted; that satisfaction should be given for all injuries done to their persons and property; that the English, who had encroached upon their lands, should be removed, and their houses destroyed; that the Indians should be permitted to bring in fish and fruit for sale, provided they came unarmed; that no Englishman was to trade with them, unless he were licensed; that the boundaries of their respective territories should be

Acts concerning the
Indians.

¹⁹ Ibid. 75. So great appears to have been the tendency of the women in Virginia at this time to slander and scolding, that, in a later Act, it was stated that 'their poore husbands were often brought into chargeable and vexatious suites, and cast in greate damages there-

by;' and to check this indulgence of the tongue, it was provided, that, for each five hundred pounds of tobacco which the man had to pay in consequence of his wife's slander, she should be punished by ducking. Ibid. 166.

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settled by commissioners, and annually viewed ; that silver and copper badges, with the names of the different towns engraved upon them, should be supplied to the Indian kings, which were to be worn by their subjects upon entering the English borders, for the purpose of affording a clue to their detection, if they were guilty of any misconduct ; and, that no Indian, brought in as a servant, was to be sold as a slave, or to be retained as a servant, without permission from the governor ²⁰.

Instructions
to Berkeley.

The above laws, as I have said, were passed by the Assembly which met before the departure of Berkeley for England, and some during his brief absence. Upon his return to Virginia, towards the end of 1662, he brought Instructions with him from the Crown, dated the twelfth of September, in that year, which contain the following important passage relative to Church matters :—‘ And that God Almighty may be more inclined to bestow His blessing upon us and you in the improvement of that our Colony, you shall take speciall care He be devoutly and duly served in all the government ; the Booke of Common Prayer, as it is now establisht, read each Sunday and Holy day, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England ; You shall be carefull that the Churches already built there shall be well and orderly kept, and more built as the Colony shall, by God’s blessing, be improved : And that

²⁰ Ibid. 138—143.

besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Church, a convenient house be built, at the common charge, for each Minister, and one hundred acres of land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his industry.

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‘And our will and pleasure is that no Minister be preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Colony, without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England: And also our pleasure is, that in the direction of all Church affairs, the Ministers be admitted into the respective Vestrys.

‘And that we may the better be secured of the Faith and Allegiance due unto Us from all our subjects in that our Colony, you are to take care that the oaths of obedience and supremacy be administered to all persons whatsoever that bear any part of the Government, and that none be admitted thereunto without first taking the said oaths; as also that all other persons of what degree or quality soever (capable by the Law of taking an oath) be strictly enjoined to take the said oath of obedience, or to suffer the penalties provided in case of such refusall, by the Laws of our Kingdome of England.

‘And because Wee are willing to give all possible encouragement to persons of different persuasions in matters of Religion to transport themselves thither with their stocks, You are not to suffer any man to be molested or disquieted in the exercise of his Religion, so he be content with a quiet and peace-

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able enjoying it, not giving therein offence or scandall to the Government: But Wee oblige you in your own house and family to the profession of the Protestant Religion, according as it is now established in our Kingdome of England, and the recommending it to all others under your government, as farre as it may consist with the peace and quiet of our said Colony.—You are to take care that drunkenese and debauchery, swearing and blasphemy, be discountenanced and punished: And that none be admitted to publick trust and employment, whose ill fame and conversation may bring scandall thereupon ²¹.

The reader can scarcely fail to perceive in the above Instructions, that, whilst they manifest the same desire to establish the ordinances of our Church throughout Virginia,—which has been already noticed with respect to the Instructions to Wyatt and others, and in various Acts of the Grand Assembly ²²,—they breathe the same humane and equitable spirit, towards those who were not of her communion, which distinguished the declarations of the King to the Parliament at home, and his Instructions to the Governor of Jamaica, about the same period ²³. But the same feeling of regret is awakened in this, as in the other instances referred to, when we observe how soon this spirit was exchanged for one of severity and oppression.

²¹ MSS. (Virginia) in State Paper Office.

²² See p. 194, *ante*.

²³ See p. 479, *ante*.

In Virginia, indeed, fresh elements of disturbance quickly showed themselves. For, in 1663, in consequence, it is said, of increased commercial restrictions, and the persecution of sectaries, a conspiracy was formed by some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been sent thither. It was happily disclosed by one of their party, Berkenhead, on the evening before the day upon which it was to have taken effect,—the thirteenth of September; and, in commemoration of the deliverance of the Colony from such great danger, ample rewards were given to Berkenhead; and the annual recurrence of the day upon which the intended massacre was to have taken place was appointed to be kept holy²⁴.

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Conspiracy.

Affairs were evidently in a very critical state. The clouds, which foretold the coming storm, were fast gathering on every side; and men's hearts were distracted with many and anxious fears. A significant token of this fact is supplied in an Act of the Grand Assembly, proclaiming the observance of the twenty-seventh of August, 1667, as a day of fasting and humiliation before God, for the averting the many evils which the sins of the country had drawn down upon it; and calling upon the Ministers of the several Parishes to prepare themselves for the due solemnization of the day²⁵.

Before we notice the struggle which ensued, it is necessary to glance, for one moment, at another enactment of the Assembly, from whom emanated

Baptism of
slaves.

²⁴ Hening, 191. 204; Burk, ii. 134—137.

²⁵ Ibid. 265.

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the above proclamation; an enactment, relating, indeed, to a wholly different subject, but most important; namely, the baptism of slaves in Virginia. Doubts had arisen, it appears, whether children, who were slaves by birth, and through the charity and piety of their owners had been baptized, were thereby freed from temporal bondage or not: and it was consequently declared by the Assembly, that their participation in that sacrament did not change their outward condition. The object of publishing this declaration is expressly stated in the Act, that 'divers masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that Sacrament²⁶.' The mere passing of such a law presents a striking contrast to the state of things which, we have seen, prevailed in Barbados²⁷, and proves, that, amid the pressing difficulties of Virginia, there were many devout members of the Church within her borders, anxious to secure to their slaves the dearest boon of spiritual freedom. Nor can it be doubted that such men would have rejoiced to have struck off also the temporal bonds of their slaves, had it then been practicable. But they yielded to the necessity laid upon them by the laws of that community of which they were members; and justly so; for the fact is not to be doubted that the blessings of the Gospel, wheresoever faith-

²⁶ Ibid. 260.

²⁷ See pp. 494, &c. *ante*.

fully received, are independent of, and superior to, all outward contingencies. The Apostle himself bore witness to this, when he said, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant ²⁸."

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But it is only for a moment that enactments such as these arrest our attention. The repeated directions, issued by the Assembly of Virginia, for the levying of fresh troops, for the enforcement of military discipline, and for prohibiting the transportation of arms and ammunition into the Indian territories ²⁹, all tell of danger close at hand, and of efforts to repel it. At length, in 1675, a most formidable body of Indians, and of European settlers, headed by a young Englishman, named Nathaniel Bacon, appeared in open insurrection against the constituted authorities of the Colony. Leaving it to the general historian to describe the progress of the eventful conflict which ensued, it must suffice for our present purpose to observe, that, whilst, upon more than one occasion, Bacon gained the mastery; and whilst the laws passed by the Grand Assembly held under his authority ³⁰, the forced retirement of Berkeley's forces, and the flames which destroyed the greater part of James Town, are some of the many witnesses

Bacon's rebellion.

²⁸ 1 Cor. vii. 20—22.

²⁹ Hening, ii. 326—340.

³⁰ Ibid. 341—365.

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which prove this fact; the struggle was terminated, in the following year, by the death of Bacon, and the severest punishments were inflicted upon his chief followers³¹. In some instances, indeed, the severity of these punishments exceeded the terms of Berkeley's instructions; and a second proclamation was issued by the Crown, condemning them³². The laws passed, during Bacon's ascendancy, were forthwith formally repealed; but it is remarkable, that, some of the most valuable of them were, soon afterwards, re-enacted in the very same words: a strong proof, that the abuses in the Government, which these laws were designed to correct, and which its members were before unwilling to acknowledge, had been the real exciting causes of the insurrection³³.

Berkeley's
recall.

Commissioners were sent out from England to enquire into the causes of the insurrection and the condition in which it had left the Colony; among whom was Herbert Jefferys, who announced his own appointment as governor, (April 27, 1677,) in the room of Berkeley, recalled to England. Thus Berkeley departed from the country, over which, with the brief interruption caused by the officers of the Commonwealth, he had presided for thirty-six years; and, worn out with anxiety and age, he breathed his last within a few months after his return to his native land³⁴. The opportunity never arrived of

Death and
character.

³¹ Burk, ii. 152—193; Chalmers, 332—335.

³² Hening, ii. 429.

³³ Ibid. ii. 391, note.

³⁴ Ibid. 558—560, where a copy of his will, and the date of probate are given.

vindicating himself, before his sovereign and country, against the charges brought against him of maladministration of the Colony. His memory, indeed, was successfully defended by his brother, Lord Berkeley, from the misrepresentations of the commissioners; and the Assembly of Virginia declared, in an Address to Charles the Second, with not less generosity than truth, 'that he had been an excellent and well-deserving governor'¹⁵. Nevertheless, the brave, and loyal, and honest man, who, through a long life of peril and vicissitude, had laboured, as he best could, to promote the welfare of England's first Colony, died, without one word of grateful acknowledgment from his country that he had done her any service. The sympathy, which such a fate must naturally excite in the hearts of most men, might have led succeeding writers of American history to have dealt more gently than they have done with the character of Berkeley. They unite, for the most part, in describing him as a man, whose main desire was to keep the Colony in a state of thralldom and ignorance, and, upon that account only, retained so long in the service of the Crown, as a fit instrument to execute its despotic counsels. They have not paid sufficient regard to the condition of the Colony, when the predecessors of Berkeley delivered it into his hands; the arbitrary rule to which it had been made subject by them, and by the authorities at home; the intolerant character of the age; and the

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stimulus given to all its worst energies by the various conflicts which were carried on, with such deadly animosity, both in England and Virginia, during the greater part of his administration. The remembrance of these exciting causes may surely palliate, though they cannot justify, the temper of mind which, it is said, distinguished Berkeley. The chief evidence, which his accusers bring against him, is a written declaration of his own, which, taken only by itself, must be admitted to tell strongly against him. It is found in his answer to a series of questions, touching the state of the Colony, addressed to him from the home government, in 1671. The last question was to this effect: 'What course is taken about the instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion; and what provision is there made for the paying of your ministry?' To which, he replies: 'The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent would be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us: and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels

against the best government ³⁶. The man, who could give utterance to such sentiments, it is plain, must have been blinded to the real sense of the use of learning, by the overwhelming dread of its abuse; his judgment must have been, for the time, held captive; his kindly and generous feelings must have been put to flight by the onset of the many fierce and contemptuous spirits that were contending with him for the mastery. The evils, which drove Berkeley into this vicious extreme, were not indeed altogether imaginary. Even Milton, the foremost champion in that age for the liberty of unlicensed printing, admits 'that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Books demean themselves as well as Men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice to them as malefactors: for Books,' he affirms, 'are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a viol the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them; they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragon's teeth; and, being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men ³⁷.' To Berkeley, doubtless, the springing up of such 'armed men' upon the soil of Virginia, seemed an intolerable evil, which it was his duty to crush at the very outset. But, before the sentence of unsparing condemnation be passed upon

³⁶ Hening, ii. 517.

³⁷ Areopagitica. Works, i. 424. fol. ed.

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him for the cherishing of such a thought, let it be remembered, that, through the erroneous course of policy described in the second chapter of this Volume, he was deprived of the benefit of those corrective influences which the Church, had she been able to exercise fully and properly the office assigned to her, might have brought to bear upon him. His Instructions from England upon this subject, were rendered nugatory by those enactments of the Assembly, which, howsoever well intended they may have been, we have shown, were pregnant with evil to the real interests of religion; and the absence of any authorized and competent ecclesiastical superior to advise, encourage, or admonish the ministers and lay members of the Church, allowed the evil to show itself in its most aggravated and frightful form. All the pernicious consequences, in fact, which, I have said, were to be apprehended from such misrule as has been described, were speedily and fully realized³⁸.

Godwyn's
description
of the Vir-
ginia Clergy.

Godwyn, to whose testimony touching Barbados reference has been made in the preceding chapter, may be again cited as a witness of this fact. He had passed some time in Virginia, before he went to Barbados; and, at the end of his pamphlet, 'The Negro's and Indian's Advocate,' he gives, in a Letter addressed to Sir William Berkeley, a brief account of the state of religion in that province, 'as it was some time before the late rebellion.' Godwyn acknowledges that Berkeley had, 'as a tender father, nourished and

³⁸ See pp. 100—105, *ante*.

preserved Virginia in her infancy and nonage. But, as our Blessed Lord' he reminds him 'once said to the young man in the Gospel, "Yet lackest thou one thing;" so (he adds) may we, and I fear too truly, say of Virginia, that there is one thing, the propagation and establishing of Religion in her, wanting.' And this he proves in various ways; saying, that 'the Ministers are most miserably handled by their Plebeian Juntos, the Vesteries; to whom the hiring (that is the usual word there) and admission of Ministers is solely left. And there being no law obliging them to any more than to procure a lay-reader (to be obtained at a very moderate rate), they either resolve to have none at all, or reduce them to their own terms; that is, to use them how they please, pay them what they list, and to discard them whensoever they have a mind to it. And this is the recompense of their leaving their hopes in England (far more considerable to the meanest curate, than what can possibly be apprehended there), together with their friends and relations, and their native soil, to venture their lives into those parts, amongst strangers and enemies to their profession, who look upon them as a burden; as being with their families (where they have any) to be supported out of their labour. So that I dare boldly aver that our discouragements there are much greater than ever they were here in England under the Usurper.' After citing various evidences in support of these statements, among which he specifies the hiring of the clergy from year to year, and

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compelling them to accept of Parishes at under rates, Godwyn thus proceeds: 'I would not be thought to reflect herein upon your Excellency, who have always professed great tenderness for Churchmen. For, alas! these things are kept from your ears; nor dare the Ministers, had they opportunity, acquaint you with them, for fear of being used worse. And there being no superior Clergyman, neither in Council nor in any place of authority, for them to address their complaints to, and by his means have their grievances brought to your Excellencies knowledge, they are left without remedy.' Again, 'two-thirds of the Preachers are made up of leaden Lay-Priests of the Vesteries Ordination; and are both the shame and grief of the rightly ordained Clergie there. Nothing of this ever reaches your Excellencies ear: these hungry patrons knowing better how to make benefit by their vices, than by the virtues of the other.' And here Godwyn cites an instance of a writing master, who came into Virginia, professing to be a Doctor in Divinity, showing feigned Letters of Orders, and, under different names, continuing in various places to carry on his work of fraud. He states also, that, owing to a law of the Colony, which enacted that four years' servitude should be the penalty exacted of any one who permitted himself to be sent thither free of charge, some of the clergy, through ignorance of the law, were left thereby under the mastery of persons who had given them the means of gratuitous transport; and that they could only escape from such bondage,

by paying a ransom four or five times as large as that to which the expenses of their passage would have amounted. Moreover, he describes the Parishes, as extending, some of them, sixty or seventy miles in length, and lying void, for many years together, to save charges. James Town, he distinctly states, had been left, with short intervals, in this destitute condition for twenty years. 'Laymen (he adds) were allowed to usurp the office of ministers; and Deacons to undermine and thrust out Presbyters; in a word, all things concerning the Church and Religion were left to the mercy of the people.' And, last of all, 'to propagate Christianity among the heathen,—whether natives, or slaves brought from other parts,—although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering those countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians, so idle and ridiculous, so utterly needless and unnecessary, that no man can forfeit his judgment more, than by any proposal looking or tending that way³⁹.'

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The evils, then, which now oppressed the Church in Virginia, were the same in kind with those which we have shown were in operation in every other settlement. Deriving their origin from the sorrows of the mother country, they were aggravated by the very measures which were designed to govern and protect the Church. The Bishops, her natural and true protectors, were not permitted, in any one Colony, to watch over her; and hence all her distresses.

³⁹ Godwyn, ut sup. 167—172.

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Pamphlet
entitled
'Virginia's
Cure,' &c.

But this melancholy state of things was not permitted to exist, without some effort at least being made to remedy it. We have already seen, that, in the year after the Restoration, Philip Mallory was sent home for the express purpose of urging upon the English the prayer for help. And, in the same year, the condition of the Church in Virginia was especially brought under the notice of Sheldon, then Bishop of London, and Morley, Bishop of Winchester, in a pamphlet, written by one who had fled to that province, for the purpose of avoiding (as he says) the 'tyrannical usurpations of his native countrey;' and 'for the space of above ten years' had been an eye-witness of the things which he describes. He was sent home by Colonel Francis Morison (whom he calls 'the present careful and ingenious Deputy Governor of Virginia,') with Petitionary Letters containing propositions for bettering the state of that Church, which he had to present to the above-named Bishops; and, having stated to them that the adoption of the propositions, though good, would only palliate, not cure, the miseries with which the Church was afflicted, he was requested by the Bishop of London to state some further propositions upon the subject; and this, accordingly, he did, in the work to which I am about to refer⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ The title of the pamphlet is as follows: 'Virginia's Cure: or an Advisive Narrative concerning Virginia; discovering the true ground of that Church's unhappiness, and the only true remedy. As it was presented to the Right

Reverend Father in God, Guilbert Lord Bishop of London, September 2, 1661. Now publish'd to further the welfare of that and the like Plantation. By R. G.

And this Gospel, &c. Matt. 24. 14. [Is

The initials only of the writer's name, R. G., are given in the title-page; but the value of his testimony is not thereby destroyed; for the names and offices of those persons at whose request he published it, give to it all the authority which can be required. The contents also of the pamphlet, of which I here subjoin a brief abstract, prove that it is a faithful witness who here speaks.

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He states, in his preface, that he was induced to make known the evils under which the Virginian Church laboured, and the remedies proposed for their alleviation, in the hope, first of all, that it might lead others to assert more fully the truth which he endeavours briefly to prove, namely, that it was the duty of Christians (especially those who seat plantations among the heathen) to unite their habitations in such manner as to secure the constant participation of all the ordinances of the Church; secondly, that the errors which had been committed in Virginia, might be avoided in the establishment of future plantations; and, lastly, that charitable persons might be induced to endow Virginia Fellowships in both Universities, according to a plan which the writer himself suggests. Whatsoever might be the result of his appeal, the writer cheers himself by the reflection, that it might at least be some testimony to his friends in Virginia, that he was not

Is it time for you, &c. Hag. 1. for Henry Brome, at the signe of
4, 5. the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1662.
London, Printed by W. Godbed

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unmindful of procuring help for their poor scattered Church, nor ungrateful for the kind reception which they had given to him, in the day of his own persecution.

Its enumeration of evils which afflicted the Church there.

He describes Virginia as being divided, at that time, into several counties, which contained in all about fifty Parishes, not more than a mile in breadth, extending many miles along the banks of James River, and often parted from each other by small streams and creeks. The inhabitants of these Parishes, consequently, although seated in the midst of them, were often at a great distance from the Church. Many Parishes wanted both Churches and Glebes; and not more than a fifth of them were supplied with ministers. Divine Service was celebrated only once upon the Lord's Day; and sometimes not at all, when the weather was inclement. He then recites the evil consequences of such a state of things, namely, 'the want of Christian neighbourhood, of brotherly admonition, of holy examples of religious persons, of the comfort of their ministrations in sickness and distress, and of the benefit of Christian and civil conference and commerce.' The want also of schools, produced by the operation of the same causes, is also pointed out, whereby 'not only was there a very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia, unserviceable for any employment of Church or State; but an obstacle was also cast in the way of the conversion of the heathen;'—a work which, he reminds his country-

men, was always to be kept in view, 'by all who would be subservient to the Providence of God, in transporting our Colonies thither'⁴¹. CHAP.
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The cause of this scattered mode of living throughout the province, is assigned by the writer to the privilege, granted under the Royal Charter, of giving to the settlers fifty acres of land for every person whom they should transport at their own charges; and to the random way in which the original holders, or subsequent purchasers, of these lands selected them. To remedy this inconvenience, for the future, the building of towns is recommended, and also the revival of a former Act of the Assembly, for holding markets; concerning which points, he recommends that the then governor, Sir William Berkeley, or some of those who had held office in the Colony, should be consulted⁴².

He next urges upon Sheldon the earnest entreaty, that he would acquaint the King with the spiritual destitution of Virginia, and move his Majesty for a collection to be made in all the Churches of the kingdom,—the ministers of each congregation enjoining them to contribute to so holy a work. He dwells also upon the necessity of procuring an Act of Parliament for the establishment of Fellowships in both Universities, to be called Virginia Fellowships, which were to be held, by such persons as should promise to hold them, for seven years, and no longer. At the expiration of that period, it was proposed that

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 4—6.

⁴² Ibid. pp. 7, 8.

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the persons holding the Fellowships should go to Virginia, and serve the Church in that Colony for another period of seven years, during which they were to be maintained from her resources; and, upon the termination of it, were to be left at their own liberty to return to England or not. In case of violating any of the above conditions, they were to be deemed incapable of holding any preferment.

The constitution and influence of the Grand Assembly are next described⁴³, as an impediment to the work of evangelizing the province. It was usually held once a year; at which meeting matters of the greatest public interest were determined. It consisted of the governor and council, who formed the Upper House, and the Burgesses, the elected representatives of the planters, who formed the Lower House. And these latter, the writer states, were 'usually such as went over servants thither, and though by time and industry they may have attained competent estates, yet by reason of their poor and mean condition were unskilful in judging of a good estate, either of Church or Commonwealth, or of the means of procuring it⁴⁴.'

Its demand
for a Bishop.

To counteract, therefore, the evils which were thus produced, and to awaken a more healthful action among the members of the Church, the writer demands earnestly the presence of a Bishop in the province⁴⁵; saying that there were 'divers persons

⁴³ Ibid. p. 10.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 18.

⁴⁵ Dr. Hawks, who has noticed

this Pamphlet, in his valuable
'Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States,

already in the Colony fit to serve the Church in the office of Deacon,' and 'that after due probation and examination,' which could only be properly conducted by a Bishop, they might be profitably employed in the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ. A continuous and consistent order of ministration also would be thereby secured; and the Parishes be saved from the evil, which then commonly prevailed, of being watched over for short and uncertain periods.

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To all who should be induced to enter upon this field of labour, the writer gives, in conclusion, this encouraging assurance:—'They shall (in a very pleasant and fruitful land) meet with a people which generally bear a great love and respect to their Ministers; and (if they behave themselves as becometh their high calling) they shall find ready help and assistance in their needs; and (which should be more encouraging) they will find a people which generally bear a great love to the stated constitutions of the Church of England, in her government and publick worship, which gave us (who went thither under the late persecutions of it) the advantage of liberty to use it constantly among them, after the naval force had reduced the Colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the Usurper; which liberty we could not have enjoyed, had not the people generally expressed a great love to it. And I hope even this will be consideration

Its testimony to the affectionate spirit of the Virginians.

(Virginia, pp. 64, 65), has omitted to point out the request which is here made for a Bishop.

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(not of least regard) to move your Lordship to use all possible care, and endeavour to supply Virginia's needs with sufficient orthodox Ministers, in the first place, and before any other of our foreign Plantations which crave your help, because in the late times of our Church's persecution, her people alone cheerfully and joyfully embraced, encouraged, and maintained the orthodox Ministers that went over to them, in their publick conformity to the Church of England, in her doctrine, and stated manner of publick worship⁴⁶.'

Such an appeal, addressed to such Prelates as Sheldon and Morley, could hardly have failed of success, had the times been more propitious. The evidences, to which we have already referred, of Sheldon's noble munificence⁴⁷; and the 'many eminent works of charity and generosity' by which Morley's administration of the Diocese of Winchester was distinguished, and which have been so gratefully and faithfully acknowledged by the learned author of the *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, would amply justify the belief, that, had it been in their power, they would have rejoiced to help their bre-

⁴⁶ Page 22. In passing these sheets through the press, I received from Mr. Charles Campbell, of Virginia, a copy of his Introduction to the History of that State. I thankfully acknowledge his kindness in making me a possessor of his most useful work; and, in doing so, am glad to quote the terms of commendation in which he has noticed the above pamphlet. He justly describes it, as

'written with uncommon perspicuity and vigour, and in a spirit of earnest benevolence,' p. 75, note. I willingly avail myself also of the present opportunity to acknowledge the interesting and valuable Historical Tracts which I have received from the hands of the Rev. Philip Slaughter, late Rector of Bristol Parish, Petersburg, Virginia.

⁴⁷ See note in p. 458, *ante*.

thren in Virginia ⁴⁸. But the reader has only to bear in mind the complicated difficulties which were, at that same moment, exciting the fears, distracting the energies, and irritating the passions of Englishmen at home; and he will not be surprised, howsoever he may regret, to find that their prayer was fruitless.

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An attempt, indeed, was made to grant the most important part of the appeal, namely, that which solicited the presence of a Bishop in Virginia. The nomination of the Rev. Alexander Murray to that office was actually declared, at one period of Clarendon's administration; but the matter proceeded no further. Objections were urged, in the first instance, against the character of Murray himself; and, although these, upon examination, were proved utterly groundless, yet other difficulties were quickly raised, which had the effect of putting an end to the design. Some have ascribed this result to the efforts of the Cabal ministry, who succeeded to power after the downfall of Clarendon, and were glad to thwart any scheme which he had been anxious to promote ⁴⁹; others, to the impracticable character of the plan proposed for the endowment of the Bishopric, by which it was to be defrayed out of the customs⁵⁰.

Abortive
attempt
to send a
Bishop to
Virginia.

⁴⁸ See Preface by Bingham to his most valuable work, p. xxxi. in which he bears witness to the assistance which he had derived from the library left by Bishop Morley to the Church of Winchester, for the advancement of learning among the parochial clergy.

Dehon, p. 5, quotes Chandler's 'Free Statement,' as his authority for part of this account.

⁵⁰ Archbishop Secker's Letter to Horace Walpole, Works, iv. 501 (ed. 1825). Among the papers in Lambeth Library, is one referring to this subject, which will be noticed more particularly hereafter.

⁴⁹ Gadsden, in his Life of Bishop

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Sir Leoline
Jenkins.

Nevertheless, although thus disappointed for a time, the words of those men who proclaimed to England the spiritual destitution of her Colonies, did not return unto them altogether void. There were many, in that day of domestic strife, who remembered, and did what they could to remedy, the wants of their countrymen abroad. Among these, Sir Leoline (or Lionel) Jenkins claims a conspicuous place. He was a native of Glamorganshire; and, having entered as a member of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1641, took up arms in favour of the King's cause. When that cause was overthrown, he retired, with Mansell, the ejected Principal of the same College, to his native county, and there supported himself for some time by tuition. His adversaries were not long in indicting him for keeping a seminary of rebellion and sedition; in consequence of which, he, in 1651, withdrew, and fled for temporary safety to Oxford, where he lived in confidential friendship with Fell and Sheldon. But, a second time, he was compelled to flee thence, and go beyond sea with his pupils. Towards the close of Cromwell's life, he returned to England, living in close retirement, under the protection of Sir William Whitmore, until the Restoration, when he returned to Oxford, and was chosen Fellow, and afterwards, in 1671, upon the resignation of Mansell, Principal of Jesus College; which office he retained for only two years. During his residence at Oxford, he took an active part not only in matters relating to his College, but to the University generally, and was of great service to Sheldon, then Chancellor, in

the settlement of the Theatre and Printing Press, erected at the expense of the Archbishop. During the same period also, he was admitted an advocate in Doctors' Commons; and, in 1664, was appointed Judge of the High Court of Admiralty. Sheldon further conferred upon him the office of Commissary and Official for the Diocese of Canterbury. The early resignation of the headship of his College was caused by his being appointed Ambassador at Cologne; and, in 1676, he again served, with Lord Berkeley and Sir William Temple, as Plenipotentiary for the treaty of Nimeguen. He was also a Burgess for the University from 1679 until the time of his death. In 1680, he succeeded Sir William Coventry as Secretary of State; in which capacity, we have seen, he was instrumental in forwarding the safe settlement of the French Protestant refugees in Jamaica⁵¹. He retained the office of Secretary until 1684, when he was displaced by Godolphin; and died, September 1, 1685, a few months after the accession of James the Second⁵².

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The many important offices which he had held, and the earnest and faithful spirit with which he ever laboured to discharge them, had impressed Sir Leoline Jenkins with a deep sense of the necessity of securing, for the Fleets and Plantations of

⁵¹ See p. 485, *ante*.

⁵² Wynne's Life of Jenkins, i. i—xl.; Temple's Works, ii. 332—541; Burnet's Own Times, ii. 17. 245. 431. Temple amused himself sometimes with describing the anxious punctiliousness of Sir Leo-

line; but, nevertheless, felt great respect for him, and it was mainly at his solicitation that Jenkins was appointed Secretary. Burnet represents him as 'a man of an exemplary life, and considerably learned, but dull and slow.'

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England, a larger amount of spiritual help than had hitherto been provided for them; and his long and intimate connexion with Oxford had naturally led him to regard that University, as one source from which that assistance could be derived. With this view, he had besought the King to 'authorize that two additional Fellowships be founded and endowed in' Jesus College, Oxford, 'with such allowance and maintenance as the other Fellows respectively have, or might have. And, therefore, under his Majesty's leave,'—I here recite the description of his Will, as it is given by Wynne,—'he did devise and bequeath out of the said estates, such salaries and allowances to the said additional Fellowships, as any of the other sixteen have, or may have; and that they should be admitted to all other advantages, offices, and privileges, that by the Statutes or practice of the College are, or may be, claimed, by any of the said Fellows already founded or endowed.

'And since he owed (under God) all that he was, and all that he had, to the Royal goodness and bounty of His late Majesty, and His Majesty that then was; he humbly besought, that the first of those Fellows, and his successors, may be known and distinguished by the name of the Scholar and Alumnus of King Charles II.; the other, and his successors, by the name of the Scholar and Alumnus of King James II.; and that they may be under an indispensable obligation to take upon them Holy Orders of Priesthood, so soon as, by the Constitutions of this Church and the laws of this Realm,

they shall be capable of them ; and afterwards that they go out to sea, in His Majesty's Fleet, when they, or either of them, are thereunto summoned by the Lord High Admiral. If they refuse to take Orders, or refuse or delay to obey such summons, then their places to be *ipso facto* void, and others to be chosen in their room, as if they were naturally dead. And, in case there be no use of their service at sea, and they be called by the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, to go into any of His Majesty's foreign Plantations, there to take upon them a cure of souls, and exercise the ministerial function, under his Lordship's direction and obedience, and they refuse or delay to go, then their place or places to be immediately void, and supply'd by a new election.

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'And to the end they may not be without some special encouragement, in regard of the extraordinary obligation and duty they are to be under ; he further besought His Majesty, in his Letters Patent of foundation, to order and direct the said Principal, Fellows, and Scholars for the time being, to allow them respectively as full salaries as any other of their degree, notwithstanding their absence, so long as they shall be either in the Fleet or Plantations, and be certified by the Lord High Admiral and the Lord Bishop of London respectively, that they have been in the said service, and have behaved themselves in all things as became them. And that His Majesty would be pleased to declare, in his said Letters Patent, that, during their absence, they are

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in obsequio Domini Regis, and consequently intituled to all benefits and advantages, as if they had been actually resident in the College. And for their further encouragement, over and above the allowance that they are to receive equally with the other Fellows, he devised the sum of 20*l.* a year apiece to be paid to the said two additional Fellows, or their order respectively, while they are, and *pro ratá* of the time of their being, actually in either of the said services (due certificate being first produced to that effect). But no person to be chosen full Fellow, after the year of his probation, into either of the said two Fellowships, till he is actually in Holy Orders of Priesthood; and that he be a native of the Diocese of Landaff, or St. David's; and that among them, a first respect be had, *cæteris paribus*, to those bred at Cowbridge School.

'When the said two Fellowships should be founded and endowed, he directed that then two of the three Exhibitioners from Cowbridge School aforementioned, should be taken and reputed new additional Scholars of the House, equally with the other sixteen, to all intents and purposes; and that the said two additional Fellows, and their successors, should be chosen out of them preferably to all others, if they be equal with the other candidates⁴³.'

Of the arrangements, which have now been for some time in progress, to secure to our Church in the Colonies the full benefit of the provision thus

⁴³ Wynne's Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, I. lxxvi. lxxvii.

plainly designed for them by Sir Leoline Jenkins, I cannot here speak, as I had hoped to have done. The matter is still pending; and, until it be formally decided, the expression of any private opinion upon it would be useless and unjust. It is only left for me to hope that it may be brought speedily to a satisfactory conclusion; and that the Prelate, who now presides over the See of London, and who is especially bound to see that justice be done in this matter, may find in such an issue another testimony of the success, with which it has pleased God to bless his unwearied efforts, in extending the ministrations of our Church at home and abroad.

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Meanwhile, the pious designs of the founder of these Fellowships were promoted in various ways. A kindred feeling with his own animated the hearts of many of the clergy and lay members of our Church, in that day; and one main result of their united prayers and counsel was the institution of those two Societies, which have ever since been employed,—and never more effectively than at the present time,—as the chief instruments to communicate the knowledge of the Word of God, and the ordinances of His Church, throughout the British Empire. But, before we advert more particularly to that part of our history, it is important to observe, that the self-same channels, namely, the Universities of our land,—through which, in the instance above cited, the attempt was made to draw ever fresh supplies of spiritual health and strength for the benefit of our ‘Fleets and Plantations,’—were then contemplated by

The Universities of
England.

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many more with like feelings of affectionate anxiety and hope. Thus, for instance, writes Dr. Josiah Woodward,—in his ‘Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London,’ published in 1701,—of the efforts which, for some years prior to that date, had been made ‘for Reformation of Manners:’ ‘I am informed that some particular methods which have been very serviceable to Religion, have likewise been endeavoured by several worthy persons in our Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And it will always be the prayer of good men, that these ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning, may, by the good discipline and careful conduct of their Students, especially those designed for Holy Orders, ever render themselves renowned in the world. That from them the Palaces of Princes, the Retinue of Ambassadors, and the Families of Noblemen, together with our Fleets and Foreign Factories, may have a continual supply of devout and learned Chaplains; and that our Parishes, both at home and in our Plantations, may thence derive a constant succession of pious and laborious Pastors, who may effectually refute error, extirpate vice, recommend piety, and restore the Divine honour and authority of our most blessed Religion, and that the Testimonials of these celebrated seats of Learning may every where be esteemed as the most sacred credentials of persons of the best characters and accomplishments. There can be no doubt but that the efforts of these famous Universities, to retrieve the primitive vigour of our Religion, would excel

all that has been already done of the like tendency by others⁵⁴’

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Who is there, that wishes peace to our Jerusalem, who would not renew such prayers, and rejoice to see them realized? It is a consideration, fitted above all others to quicken and sustain the vigilance of those who have the rule in our Universities, and to restrain the waywardness and stimulate the zeal of all entrusted to their charge, to feel that the highest destinies of England are, even now, in their keeping; and that the character which her Church shall bear, in future ages, and to the furthest confines of the earth, depends mainly upon the impressions which she, at this day, receives in ‘these ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning.’ Every effort, therefore, which is made to lift up the hearts and minds of those now sheltered within them to a consciousness of their deep responsibilities, and to spread before them the view of those vast and distant and varied fields of labour into which they shall hereafter be invited to enter, is a step which we should gratefully welcome, and bid it God speed. I believe that even the few and scanty glimpses of those regions, which were caught, amid the rivalries of academic study, in the beginning of the present century, were not without their benefit; for they awakened new thoughts of holy resolution, new

The claims
of her Colo-
nies upon
them.

⁵⁴ Woodward’s Account, &c. pp. 57, 58. It is a proof of the interest excited at that time in the subject-

matter of this book, that it passed through six editions in a few years after its first publication.

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hopes of glorious triumph⁵⁵. And if, in later years, a broader and clearer view has been given of them; if the student is now encouraged to regard with greater attention the differing tribes and countries of the East; to detect the subtle fallacies of Hindu idolatry; and to gain an insight into the structure of that language, which, although it has long ceased to be the vehicle of thought among existing Hindus, is nevertheless the source of nearly all their spoken dialects, and the treasure-house of their religion, their laws, their literature⁵⁶; if, moreover, he has heard the voice of the Preacher addressing him, in a series of Lectures, valuable alike for the extent of research, the soundness of argument, and the faithful earnestness of appeal which they exhibit⁵⁷; and, further, if provision has been made, that, from this time forward, a Sermon upon the subject of 'Church Extension over the Colonies and Dependencies of the British

⁵⁵ Witness the prizes given by Dr. Buchanan to each of the Universities, in 1805, and the valuable results of which are still to be traced in Pearson's Dissertation on the Propagation of Christianity in Asia, and the noble poem of Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, on the Restoration of Learning in the East.

⁵⁶ The recent institution of the Boden Professorship of Sanscrit at Oxford; of the prize (associated with the honoured name of Sir Peregrine Maitland) periodically given at Cambridge for an English Essay on some subject connected with the propagation of

the Gospel through missionary exertions in India, and other parts of the heathen world; and the sums which have been lately transmitted to both Universities, from an unknown benefactor, by the hands of the present Bishop of Calcutta, for the writers of the best Essays on the Refutation of Hinduism, are the encouragements to which I refer.

⁵⁷ The Bampton Lectures, preached in 1843, by Dr. Grant, now Archdeacon of St. Alban's, on 'The past and prospective extension of the Gospel by missions to the heathen.'

Empire' shall be delivered from the Pulpit of each University every year, which shall solemnly and affectionately remind her members of the duty incumbent upon them in this matter²⁸; it is evident that fresh avenues are hereby opened through which, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, high thoughts of noble enterprise shall hereafter find access to many a heart which will not rest until they be accomplished. Nay, the work has been for years begun, and we can track its rapid, its successful, progress. In our own day and generation, we can count up the names of some of the choicest sons whom our Universities have nurtured, whose spirits have been, and are, kindled with the fire of this zeal; and the strongest energies of whose youthful, or matured, manhood have been devoted to this cause. Cambridge, for instance, clothed Henry Martyn with her brightest

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²⁸ Mr. Markland,—who was for many years Treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and who still rejoices to labour in this and every other kindred work of Christian love,—proposed the endowment for this Sermon to the University of Oxford in the course of last year (1847). The Hebdomadal Board, at their Meeting on the 1st of November, agreed to accept the proposal, and to appropriate the afternoon term of Trinity Sunday in each year to the delivery of the Sermon. The Preacher is appointed by the Vice-Chancellor; and the first Sermon was preached last Trinity Sunday. The suggestion, which led to this arrangement, was originally made to Mr. Markland by the present Bishop of Barbados, Dr. Parry,

and the means for accomplishing it were placed at his disposal by another friend. Mr. Markland has since made the like proposal to the University of Cambridge; and, on the 9th of February, in the present year, the Grace was passed by the Senate that the Sermon should be preached 'on such Sunday of full Term, and by such Preacher as the Vice-Chancellor, for the time being, shall appoint.' In the letter, announcing to Mr. Markland this acceptance of his proposal, the assurance was also given of the sympathy felt by the University in the important object which he was so desirous to promote. The reader will find some other particulars connected with this matter in the Colonial Church Chronicle, i. 238.

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honours, as he stood upon the threshold of life; but brighter far was the halo which gathered round him, in the sequel of his brief career, when,—as the steadfast man of God, the faithful Pastor, the self-denying Missionary, the translator of Holy Scripture and the Church's Liturgy into the chief vernacular languages of the East, the patient and bold confessor of Christian truth in the midst of Mahomedan conclaves, —he, with the great Apostle of the Gentiles, counted “all things but loss for the excellency of Christ Jesus” his “Lord;” and “being dead, yet speaketh.” So likewise he, who, from the same University, drew forth those stores of learning which he has embodied in a work, that is justly ranked among the first of those which have augmented the scholarship and enriched the theology of our land, in the present age⁶⁰, has yet left a treasure behind him, a hundred-fold more precious, in the record of that unbending constancy with which he discharged the functions of the first Bishop of our Church, throughout our vast Indian Empire. And, who was the first to follow the path which Middleton thus opened? Was it not he whom Oxford, above all her sons, most delighted to honour; and the greatness of whose fame is testified by the suffrages of all who have ever heard, and hearing, have loved,—as they could not fail to love, —the name, and person, of Reginald Heber? And that which has enshrined his memory within their

⁵⁹ Phil. iii. 8. Heb. xi. 4.

⁶⁰ The value of Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article has been, in no ordinary degree, en-

hanced by the observations which the lamented Hugh James Rose prefixed to his excellent edition of the work, in 1833.

hearts was not the remembrance of his early triumph, when, from the rostrum and amid the plaudits of the crowded theatre, he recited, in verses worthy of such a theme, the glories and the woes of Palestine; or of his influence in later years, when, from the academic pulpit, he announced the message of his heavenly Lord, in terms which chastened, instructed, quickened the spirits of those who, with breathless attention, there listened to him. It was not the consciousness only of the many gifts and graces which won for him, whithersoever he turned, the affections alike of the lowly and the great, of the unlearned and the wise,—his ardent piety, his unwearied charity, his rich acquirements, his vivid fancy, his cheerful temper, his gentle demeanour, his persuasive converse,—all which could give the world assurance of the poet, the scholar, the theologian, the Christian pastor, the affectionate and stedfast friend. Yet, was there a gift in him, the remembrance of which comes home more vividly to the mind than that of any other,—even the obedience, with which he turned from all the enjoyments of home, and the prospects of honour, in his native England, to exercise the duties of Bishop of the Church of Christ in her Eastern Empire. The noblest work in which he was eager to be engaged was ‘to preach to the natives of India in their own language;’ the highest distinction to which he aspired was that ‘of being considered the MISSIONARY’ of Christian truth, to the heathen in that country, and to the Church within its borders over which he was set in authority. His expression of

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this hope was the last which trembled upon his lips, when, amid prayers and tears, he bade farewell to the spiritual rulers, and presbyters, and lay-members of the Church, at their solemn meeting⁶¹; and all his best energies were employed to realize it. And, what though its realization were not fully granted? "Yet surely," he might say,—although in a sense subordinate to that which attaches to the words in the Prophetic Volume,—“my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.” His sun went down, indeed, “while it was yet day⁶²”; but the beams of its reflected light still linger upon the horizon of those far-off climes, to animate and guide all who shall there be found walking in the same path of holiness with him.

And the chain of cheering testimony stops not here. The names of others who followed Heber are enrolled in the annals of academic fame: but a more distinguished seal has been set upon them as Bishops of the Indo-British Church. And he, who is now the Metropolitan of that Church, bears, in his own person, signal evidence to this fact. Appearing upon the same day with Heber, as the graduate prizeman in the rostrum of the Oxford theatre, and sharing with him the plaudits of that assembly⁶³; and, like

⁶¹ Heber's Answer to the Valedictory Address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Sermons in India, p. xxxvi.) The Special General Meeting at which these Addresses were delivered was held June 13, 1823; and, three days afterwards, the Bishop

sailed for India.

⁶² Isa. xlix. 4. Jer. xv. 9.

⁶³ The prize for the English Essay on 'Common Sense' by Daniel Wilson, the present Bishop of Calcutta, and that for the Poem of 'Palestine' by Heber, were both gained in the same year, 1808.

him, having gained in later years a conspicuous rank among the clergy of the Church in this land; he has, in obedience to the call of God's good providence, left all that men esteem so precious in the society of friends and kindred,—and in few cases could such a sacrifice have been greater than in his own,—and has gone forth, not counting his “life dear unto” himself, “so that” he may “finish” his “course with joy, and the ministry which” he has “received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God⁶⁴.” For a longer period than any of his predecessors,—even more than sixteen years,—has he sustained—and long may he be still enabled to sustain!—the charge which rests upon him in the East. The unwearied preacher of the Word of righteousness, the intrepid champion of the truth, the upholder of the weak, the comforter of the afflicted, the reprover of the wayward, the zealous promoter of every plan by which the glory of God can be advanced, the munificent founder of the Cathedral and first Cathedral Chapter in Calcutta,—in a word, the vigilant and faithful shepherd of the flock of Christ entrusted to his hands, feeding them, and “taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly⁶⁵,”—is there exhibited to our view in Bishop Wilson. Ever must his name be held in grateful reverence, as among the foremost of that goodly band which, nurtured in the Universities of England, has gone forth to proclaim, to the remotest quarters

⁶⁴ Acts xx. 24.⁶⁵ 1 Pet. v. 2.

of the globe, that Word which is her richest inheritance.

We repeat, it is a goodly band which has thus gone forth. Let the reader direct his glance to the other Dioceses in India, and Ceylon, in Australia, New Zealand, and the South of Africa; and then let him turn to contemplate the Dioceses in our West Indian Islands and Guiana, of Montreal and Toronto, of Nova Scotia, Fredericton, and Newfoundland; and he will find among the Bishops, or subordinate clergy of our Church, labouring in those different lands, men who have gained the highest honours in the Schools or Senate House; who have earned the more blessed distinction of faithful pastors in the villages and towns of England; who have rejoiced to devote the best of their strength to do the work of God, in fields where the toil is most arduous and the labourers most few; and who have departed, bearing with them the blessings and the prayers of multitudes, who here "esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake"⁶⁶.

Meanwhile, their departure has not made the work, which remains to be done at home, more difficult. On the contrary, it supplies the strongest evidence to show that the instruments, designed for the execution of that work, are themselves likewise increasing in numbers and in strength. For they who thus leave their native country, and they who remain within it, are all members of the same body. And,

⁶⁶ 1 Thess. v. 13.

since the energy of any one member is a proof that the life-blood, which sustains it, is circulating through the heart with regular and healthful impulse, it follows, that, all the members, which, by virtue of their union with the body and with each other, draw their vitality from the same source, must share, in some degree, the same healthful influence. "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it"⁶⁷. The Church Domestic and the Church Colonial cannot be separated. They "are one body in Christ"⁶⁸. Animated by the same spirit, and nourished by the same food, the secret of their strength, or of their decay, is revealed in each alike, and at the same time. They stand, or fall, together. The spectacle, therefore, of our brethren thus faithfully devoting themselves to the service of their God and Saviour, in distant lands, we hail as a testimony to prove, that, in spite of all our present difficulties, their spirit is largely shared by the ministers and lay-members of the Church at home. Their example strengthens and upholds that spirit: it bids those, who are already engaged in the same sacred calling, "stir up" with greater earnestness the "gift of God which is in" them⁶⁹. It summons also fresh companions to their side; and cheers all onward with the prospect of wider, speedier, more glorious conquests.

Let not the reader regard this as a needless

⁶⁷ 1 Cor. xii. 26.

⁶⁸ Rom. xii. 5.

⁶⁹ 2 Tim. i. 6.

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digression from the narrative which we were pursuing. It is an anticipation, indeed, of facts which will require to be detailed, with greater minuteness, hereafter; but, it has been made, for the purpose of confirming what has been before said, with reference to the earliest appeals made to our Universities, in behalf of our foreign possessions. The cry for help, which came from Virginia, at the beginning of Charles the Second's reign, was directed, we have seen, especially towards our Universities. Others, who heard that cry, and sought to relieve the wants to which it bore witness, looked also to our Universities as the source from which their help was to be obtained⁷⁰; and the seventeenth century did not close, before some direct and palpable results of such appeals were made manifest. True, the progress of those first results was afterwards hindered; and the appeals, which gave rise to them, were made, in a great measure, abortive. Nevertheless, the message, thus delivered, has not returned void unto Him that sent it. The secret of that blessed sympathy, which rejoices to give help to those that need it, has not been forfeited. The seed, although it has lain dormant, is not extinct, in those 'ancient and famous Nurseries of Piety and Learning.' The facts, which have been just adverted to, prove that it has sprung up, has borne, and is bearing, fruit in the East, in the South, and in the West. And, with the grateful recollection of these before us, let us return, and

⁷⁰ See pp. 565. 575, *ante*.

mark the trials to which the Church, in our Transatlantic Colonies, was exposed, in an earlier day. CHAP.
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The prayer of the Church in Virginia, urged Virginia, though it was in terms of such affecting truth, soon after the King had been restored to his throne, and supported by the personal representations of the most zealous among her clergy, met not with the answer which it deserved. No such cold neglect followed other petitions, which were pushed forward by favourites of the Court, for their private advantage, in the same province. On the contrary, a most lavish grant, embracing the whole territory of Virginia, and carrying with it most absolute and ample privileges, was bestowed, by Charles, for a term of thirty-one years, upon Lords Arlington and Culpepper, in 1673⁷¹. Among the various powers secured to them by this instrument, may be mentioned (with reference to our present subject) that of erecting 'parrishes, churches, colledges, chappells, ffree schools, alms houses,' &c., and endowing them 'with lands, tenements, goods, and chattles, at their free will and pleasure:'—also, that of being 'sole and absolute patrons of all and every Church and Churches already built, or hereafter to be built, and endowed within those regions;'—and of nominating and presenting 'able and fitt persons to be incum-

⁷¹ Evelyn, in his Memoirs, describes Lord Culpepper as sitting with himself and others, as Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in 1671, at the Earl of Bristol's house, in Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. He also speaks

of Lord Arlington as plunged into debt exceedingly, loving 'to have all things, rich, polite, and princely,' and 'the best bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him.' ii. 342. 431, 432.

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bents of the said churches, and masters of the said colleges, and free schools ⁷².' This grant was most distasteful to the Virginians, who sent home agents to procure its repeal; but they could obtain no remedy. A fresh Charter, indeed, was promised; but when, after many delays, it was obtained, it proved to be little more than a declaration of the dependence of the Colony upon the Crown of England. In 1681, Arlington conveyed all his interest under the above grant to Culpepper; and the latter nobleman afterwards assigned his whole estate in the premises unto the King ⁷³. But this was merely shifting the burden from one shoulder to another; it was no mitigation, or removal, of it. And the discontent caused by such treatment, added to the grievances which many of the Virginians suffered, was no doubt the secret cause of the success which attended the first outbreak of Bacon's insurrection ⁷⁴.

Under Cul-
pepper.

I have already stated, that, upon the retirement of Berkeley from Virginia, Jefferys was appointed his successor. Upon the death of Jefferys, in 1678, Sir Henry Chicheley,—who had long been in the province, revered not less on account of his virtues than his years,—succeeded to the office of deputy, and continued to fill it until Lord Culpepper, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor by Charles as far back as the year 1675, arrived in 1680, to exercise his authority in person; and, even after that

⁷² Hening, ii. 574.

⁷³ Ibid. 522.

⁷⁴ See p. 558, *ante*.

period, whenever Culpepper was absent, which not unfrequently happened, Chicheley acted as deputy⁷⁵. Culpepper found tranquillity restored in the province; and the ample powers of pardon with which he was invested, enabled him with greater ease to remove any discontents which might have remained after the insurrection of Bacon. He carried with him also Instructions precisely similar to those which have been already noticed in the case of Berkeley, with respect to Church matters⁷⁶; and thus, as far as outward appearances could give hope of happiness under his government, there was good reason to cherish it. But his greedy and rapacious spirit brought misery upon the Colony, and disgrace upon himself; and, as for the Instructions entrusted to him upon Church matters,—enforced as they were by the extraordinary powers contained in the royal grant, adverted to above,—it was a mockery of religion to find such a man invested with any authority for such an end⁷⁷. But his course was brief. Eager to escape from the irksomeness of a remote government, he returned to England, a few months after he had entered upon his office. A mandate from the King again drove him, in 1682, reluctantly to Virginia, where the evils of his misrule were already manifesting themselves in the murmurs and

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⁷⁵ Hening, ii. vii. viii.

⁷⁶ MSS. in State Paper Office (Virginia). See also pp. 548, &c. *ante*.

⁷⁷ All the writers of American history concur in giving the same

unfavourable description of Culpepper's character, and Burnet also represents him as 'a vicious and corrupt man.' *Own Times*, iii. 370.

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insurrections of her people. These he restrained, for the time, by rigorous acts of authority; but the root of the mischief was still left behind. Culpepper was soon tempted to abandon his post, a second time, without orders; and, having appointed the Secretary, his relative, Nicholas Spencer, to act as President, returned to England. Upon his arrival there, he was arrested, and tried on certain charges of malpractices in the Colony; and, having been found guilty, the forfeiture of his commission, which had been granted for life, was the sentence passed upon him ⁷⁸.

A report had been previously delivered by Culpepper to the Committee of Colonies, of which the following particulars are worthy of notice, in connexion with our present subject. 'The ecclesiastical government,' he there states, 'is under his Majesty's governor, who grants probates of wills, and doth or ought to present to all livings, which ought to be worth threescore pounds a year, and are in number 76 or 7⁷⁹: But the pooriness of the country, and the low price of tobacco, have made them of so much less value, scarcely the half; and the parishes, paying the ministers themselves, have used to claim

⁷⁸ Hening, ii. vii.; Chalmers, 338—345. Not long after his deposition, Culpepper having purchased the proprietary title of some land, formerly granted by Charles in the north of Virginia, was confirmed in its possession by James the Second, 'on account of the loyal services of that family, of which the only daughter and heir-

ess married Lord Fairfax, who thus succeeded to that extensive domain.' Campbell's Virginia, p. 98.

⁷⁹ According to this statement, more than twenty additional Parishes must have been constituted in Virginia since the Restoration. I cannot but think the statement, in this respect, erroneous.

the right of presentation, (or rather of not paying,) whether the governor will or not, which must not be allowed, and yet must be managed with great caution⁸⁰. In this brief statement, the reader will see enough to account for the wretched condition of Church affairs in Virginia, which has been described by Godwyn⁸¹. The government of the clergy, nominally in the governor, but really in the Vestries of their respective Parishes; the strongest motives of self-interest inducing the latter to deal fraudulently with the clergy, and even to make their presentations to Parishes a nullity, by withholding altogether the endowment which the law required; the governor, meanwhile, acknowledging the greatness of the wrong hereby committed, but evidently afraid, or unwilling, to remedy it; and no superior ecclesiastical officer at hand, to cheer, and sustain, and guide his brethren amid their difficulties; this was the melancholy state to which the Church was reduced, through the miscalled establishment of her by the State, in the earliest Colony of England. Her ministers were not at liberty to pursue their labours in any other course than that marked out for them by the boundaries of their respective Parishes, which, from time to time, had been constituted by Acts of the Grand Assembly; and yet, if they remained within them, it was at the risk of being cheated, browbeaten, and insulted by ignorant and sordid Vestries; and the people, spectators of the humiliat-

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⁸⁰ Chalmers, 355—357.

⁸¹ See p. 559, *ante*.

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ing struggle, were not only deprived of their spiritual birthrights, but, seeing the men, at whose hands they ought to have received them, thus contemptuously treated, soon ceased to regard them with sympathy or with reverence. And yet, writers can be found, who ascribe the subsequent decay of the Church in Virginia to the enervating influences, produced among her clergy, by the indulgence which they received from the government! Jefferson, for instance, states in express terms, that 'the great care of the government to support their own Church, having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two-thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution,' which led to the independence of the United States⁸². That the character of her clergy was deteriorated, and a vast majority of her inhabitants alienated from the Church, by the treatment to which they were exposed in the Colony, there can be no question. But, let these evils be ascribed to their right cause; and not be represented as the consequences of 'the great care of the government to support their own Church;' when the fact is that they are witnesses to prove the neglect by the government of its proper duties, and the wretched contrivances resorted to for the purposes of concealing it. The Church, of which the governors of Virginia were members, was Episcopal. To entrust her, therefore, to the control of any other authority than that of

⁸² Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 262.

her appointed ruler, the Bishop, was to contradict the very title which she bore upon her front, and to forfeit those rights and privileges which the terms of her spiritual Charter conferred upon her: it was to take from the vessel its pilot, and from the members of the body its head. And, what but prostration and death could follow? Better far had it been for the Church in Virginia,—if the only question were, whether she should be endowed from the outset or not,—that, with a Bishop at her head, he and his clergy had been left, at first, to minister with their own “hands unto” their “necessities⁶³,” than that, without a Bishop, she should have been encumbered with the Statutes of a Grand Assembly. In the one case, her real life would have had room to put forth its energies; in the other, it was overlaid and crushed.

Another evil to which Virginia was exposed, at the time when Culpepper drew up the document which has led to these remarks, was the condition of the neighbouring Colonies, Carolina and Maryland. The former, he describes as ‘the sink of America, the refuge of renegadoes’ from Virginia, and therefore ‘dangerous’ to her; and the latter, he also states, was ‘in a ferment, and not only troubled with poverty,’—the ‘disease’ of Virginia,—‘but in a very great danger of falling in pieces.’ Lastly, slavery was making rapid progress throughout the province; and, the over cultivation of tobacco is mainly ascribed, in the above document, to the num-

⁶³ Acts xi. 34.

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ber of 'blacks' who had been bought for that purpose⁶⁴.

Effingham.

In August, 1683, Francis, Lord Effingham, was appointed Culpepper's successor, not for life, as former governors had been, but only during pleasure. It was the last recorded act of Charles the Second with reference to Virginia. Her condition was not much improved by this change of rulers; for, although some beneficial Acts were passed by her Assembly, during the government of Effingham, it appears that his chief motive in obtaining the commission was to enrich himself; and the eagerness with which he is said to have 'shared with his clerks,' the fees which he took care to provide for them, proves that he was little scrupulous as to the means of attaining his end. Meanwhile, the power of publishing their complaints, or of obtaining any redress for their many grievances, were for a time effectually denied to the Virginians; for one of the orders imposed on Effingham was, that he should 'allow no person to use a printing-press on any occasion whatsoever.' Some inhabitants of the province had ventured to look for a more prosperous administration of affairs, under James the Second; but their hopes were speedily put to flight; and the joy, with which they had congratulated that monarch,

⁶⁴ In the Instructions issued to Lord Culpepper referred to above, a clause occurs forbidding the Virginians to trade with any territory within the Charter of the Royal

African Company; a signal proof of the jealousy with which the hateful monopoly of the Slave Trade was protected.

upon the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, was strangely repaid by finding Virginia made the place of transportation and servitude for his convicted followers⁸⁵. I have already described the circumstances under which this Colony was first made, in 1620, a receptacle for transported convicts; and the evils which she suffered, both then and afterwards, from the continuance of the system, amply bear out the remarks there made, and will be found to constitute not the least of the trials through which she had to pass⁸⁶. In the present instance, however, much of the evil was avoided by the Colonists acting in open defiance of the King's orders, and treating with kindness the men whom he would have confined to ignominious drudgery.

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A termination was soon put to the government of Effingham; and, returning home, early in 1688, to answer the charges which the people, in spite of all his efforts to silence them, had preferred against him, he returned no more to Virginia. The pressure of other interests, which the Revolution in England then brought with it, and the unwillingness which William the Third naturally felt to enter, at such a moment, into the consideration of matters at a distance, saved Effingham from a formal dismissal. He contrived to retain his office for four years longer; but its duties were discharged by deputy⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Chalmers, 345—358.

⁸⁶ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.

⁸⁷ Grahame, i. 134.

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At the Re-
volution.

It is a matter of no little interest to observe the feeling which animated Virginia, during the crisis of the English Revolution. The following letter from Colonel Nicholas Spencer,—who, I have before said, had been appointed President of the Council by his relative Lord Culpepper, when the latter returned home, and who still filled the office of Secretary,—presents a remarkable description of it. It is addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council, and is as follows:—

‘May it please y^r Lordships,

‘The duty incumbent on y^e office of Secretary in this Dominion, in which I have had the hon^r for some yeares to serve, oblidges me to give y^r Lordships an account of the present state of affaires, and let y^r Lordships know such occurrencies as have happened here of late (viz^t) that the mutations in England have extended their influences as far as these remoter Dominions; for noe sooner did y^e news of the late admired transactions arrive here, tho’ but imperfectly noised, and that with little probabilitie of truth, but it begun to be in the mouths of the mobile, that there was noe King in England, and consequently noe Government here; upon this surmise followed rumors and reports that y^e Papists in Maryland, together with those amongst us, have machinated to bring great numbers of fforraigne Indians to the destruction of the Protestants of both Dominions, and had prefixed a certaine time when the blow was to be given:—these tho’ false and

groundless reports raised great fears and jealousies in the minds of y^e multitude, and soon made them gather together in armes to repell y^e supposed designs of y^e Papists; and soe great a flame was kindled by the blasts of popular breath, that if it had not been timely prevented by y^e vigilance, care, and prudence of some of y^e Councill and others, in the very beginning of it, must have unavoidably proved fatall to both Dominions; and tho' it soon appeared those rumors were vaine and idle, and the people in some sort quieted, yet others like Hydra's head sprung up in their places, to y^e great disquiet of this Government, and it was rationally believed that the difficulties of keeping this Dominion free from tumults, divisions, and depredations, would have been insuperable, had not the news of the happy accession of the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Crown of England arrived here, with orders from their Maj^{ties} most Hon^{ble} privy Councill, for proclaiming of the same, given check to unruly spiritts; w^{ch} Proclamation was effected at James Citty with all possible speed, and with as great solemnity as the shortness of time and the necessity of the present circumstances would admitt of; and the Proclamations are now goeing forth into all the Counties of this Dominion, that none may be ignorant of it, and the great cause of their tumults (viz^t the believe that there was noe King in England, and consequently noe Government here) may be removed, and peace and tranquillity restored and established

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 prayer of all loyall subjects here, and particularly of
 Right Hon^{ble}

Yo^r Lordships' most dutifull
 and most obed^t Ser^t

James Citty, NICHOL. SPENCER ⁸⁸;
 April 29th, 1689.

Under Nicholson, Andros, and Nicholson, a second time. The first person who acted as deputy, during Effingham's absence, was Nathaniel Bacon, President of the General Court; and, in 1690, Francis Nicholson was appointed to that office until 1692, when Sir Edmund Andros arrived as governor, in the place of Effingham. In 1698, Andros, in his turn, was dismissed, and succeeded by Nicholson, who thus became a second time ruler of the province ⁸⁹.

The Rev. James Blair, Commissary.

The period included in the three last named administrations is remarkable for the great efforts which were made to place the government of the clergy in Virginia upon a better footing, and to secure to them, and to all the inhabitants of that and the adjoining provinces, the benefits of education. Upon the day after Nicholson's first installation in office, the licence of the Rev. James Blair, Commissary of the Bishop of London, was laid before the Council ⁹⁰. By virtue of this commission he had authority, as representative of the Bishop, to make Visitations throughout the territory assigned to him,

⁸⁸ MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.

⁸⁹ Hening, iii. ii.

⁹⁰ Burk, ii. 310.

and to enquire into and correct the discipline of the Churches within it. A remedy, therefore, was provided against some of the evils which prevailed; but it was still imperfect. The complete exercise of the duties of the Episcopal office was not secured by it. The Commissary could neither confirm, nor ordain, nor consecrate. Nevertheless, as a step taken in a right direction, the appointment is thankfully to be acknowledged, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but also the valuable services of him upon whom it was now conferred. It is said, indeed, that, before the time of Blair, some of the duties of Commissary had been performed in Virginia by the Rev. Mr. Temple; but neither the express terms of his commission, nor the date of his arrival or departure, are to be found any where⁹¹. No great reliance, therefore, can be attached to the statement.

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Blair was a native of Scotland, and had been received into Holy Orders in the Episcopal Church in that country. The painful struggle which the Church had to maintain there against her many adversaries, and the aggravated difficulties thrown in her way by the policy of the secular rulers who professed to befriend her, had driven, we have seen, the holy Leighton from his Diocese⁹². It can excite no wonder, therefore, to find, that, from the same cause, and, probably, about the same time, Blair also was constrained to come to England.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² See p. 459, *ante*.

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Compton was then Bishop of London, having been translated from Oxford, in 1675. The energy and zeal of Blair soon attracted his notice; and, mainly, it is said, by his advice, Blair went out, as a missionary, to Virginia, about the year 1685. Nothing can be imagined more discouraging than the field of duty which there awaited him; and that he entered upon it with a resolute and faithful heart, and bore himself at first, amid all dangers, with firmness and discretion, is evident from the fact, that, in a few years after his arrival, he was appointed to the responsible post of Commissary⁹³.

William
and Mary
College.

The first great work which he took in hand was the revival of the project which had been made soon after the Restoration, for the institution of a College in Virginia; and he had the satisfaction of finding his efforts in its behalf successful. Unable at first to obtain assistance from the legislature, and having to encounter objections from several chief proprietors in the Colony,—who, it was said, urged that the design ‘would take our planters off from their mechanical employments, and make them grow too knowing to be obedient and submissive⁹⁴’;—he sought the aid of private friends; and, in a short time, received two thousand five hundred pounds, chiefly given,—to their credit be it acknowledged!—by merchants of the city of London. Nicholson

⁹³ Waterland's *Recommendatory Preface* to the second Edition of Blair's *Sermons*. Works, vi. 327, &c. Doddridge frequently refers to Blair's Volumes in his notes

on the Sermon on the Mount, and always with highest praise. *Family Expositor*, in loc.

⁹⁴ Burnet's *Own Times*, iv. 210.

also showed his readiness to help; for, having received from the Grand Assembly, at the close of their first session after his appointment, three hundred pounds, 'in testimony of their attachment to him, and the deep sense they entertained of his virtues and obliging demeanour,'—and, having obtained express permission from the Crown to retain the sum, notwithstanding the general instructions issued to the governors of our American Colonies that they should accept no presents,—he presented one half to the College: and herein exhibited a striking contrast to the greedy and avaricious spirit of his predecessors, Culpepper and Effingham. In every quarter, Blair was seen striving to promote this important work; and, having at length received authority from the provincial legislature to present to William and Mary the Petition for a Charter to found the College, he proceeded to England for that purpose. The Petition was not only granted,—chiefly, it is said, through the influence of Queen Mary⁹⁵, but the King gave to the furtherance of the design two thousand pounds, due to the Crown from Virginia on account of certain quit-rents. The Charter, appointing the College to be called by the name of William and Mary, was signed on the 8th of February, 1692-3;—and, in the autumn of the same year, the General Assembly passed an Act for the erection of the building upon ground between the York and James Rivers, called the Middle Plan-

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⁹⁵ Burnet, quoted in Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation, &c. p. 10.

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tation, which was selected, six years afterwards, as the site of 'the Capitoll and City of Williamsburg.' Another Act, imposing certain duties upon skins and furs, was passed, at the same time, for the support of the institution. A further donation of twenty thousand acres of choice land, and the proceeds of a tax upon tobacco, were appropriated to the same object. The privilege also of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly was conferred upon the College; and Blair was appointed its first President⁹⁶.

Difficulties
of Blair and
the Virginia
clergy under
Andros.

Thus far the work had gone on prosperously. But Blair was destined to meet with many difficulties and discouragements in the prosecution of that and other kindred designs. In 1705, a fire broke out and totally destroyed the College buildings, when they had advanced mid-way towards completion⁹⁷. Blair recommenced them with unshaken perseverance and courage, and, in a few years more, the edifice was finished. These facts are only adverted to, generally, in this place; a minuter relation of them being reserved to a later period of the history. But, even in the period allotted to the present chapter, Blair and his brethren were exposed to some

⁹⁶ Hening, iii. 122—124. 197. 241. 419. Burk, ii. 312—314. The latter Author has copied his account of the College nearly verbatim (and with only a general acknowledgment) from Beverley, pp. 88, &c.; but has omitted the following remark of Beverley, that 'it was a great satisfaction to the Arch-

bishops and Bishops to see such a nursery of Religion founded in the New World; especially for that it was begun in an Episcopal way, and carried on wholly by zealous conformists to the Church of England.' Ibid.

⁹⁷ Burk, ii. 329.

other trials, which may be briefly noticed here. CHAP.
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The clergy of the province, it appears, had petitioned Andros, soon after his arrival as governor, for an increase of their stipends, which, it has been already shown, were placed upon a most precarious footing. Their Petition was forwarded to the House of Burgesses, who refused to comply with it: alleging, that the clergy had 'considerable perquisites by marriages, burials, and glebes, generally of the best lands, not less in most places than four or five hundred acres, and in some places near twice that quantity; which glebes are well provided with houses, orchards, fences, and pastures, to that degree, that most, if not all, the ministers of this country are in as good a condition in point of livelihood as a gentleman that is well seated, and hath twelve or fourteen servants;' and, further, that they were 'assured by their observation and certaine knowledge that, where the ministers have proved frugall men, they have still raised their fortunes; from which it cannot but be necessarily concluded that the greatest part of the clergy are well content with their present provision, and that all informations made to the contrary, have proceeded from none but such as are too avaritiously inclined.'

The above document is dated April 30, 1695, and certainly seems to make out a strong case against any further grant to the clergy. The reader's attention, therefore, is now requested to the answer, addressed to governor Andros, by the clergy at a meeting held in 'James Citty,' June 25, 1696. After referring

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to a former message from the Crown to the House of Burgesses, recommending a better settlement of the question at issue, and its rejection by the House for the reasons stated in the above document, they crave leave to make a true representation of their circumstances: 'As to our salarjs in Tobacco,' say they, 'which wee are obliged to receive at twelve shillings y^e hundred, wee cannot but look upon it as a great grievance, when no other persons besides ourselves are obliged to take Tobacco at so high a rate. And your Excell^y knows His Maj^{ty}'s Quitt Rents, which consist of the same sort of Tobacco, are not sold for so much as half that price.

'As to our considerable Perquisites, wee beg leave to inform your Excell^y that wee have noe Perquisites but for marriages and a few funerall Sermons, and that by a computation wee have made of the Perquisites of the generallity of our Parishes, wee find they do not amount com̃unibus Annis to above five pounds per annum.

'And for our Glebes, w^h are so ornamentally describ'd by the said House of Burgesses, wee do averr that in many Parishes, there are no Glebes at all; and that, in severall Parishes that have Glebes, they are detayn'd from the possession of the minister; and that where it is otherwise, that the possession is allow'd to the minister, they are so destitute of houses, orchards, and other conveniences, that they are no way fitting for his commodious reception and accommodation, and, one with another, are not worth above fourty or fifty shillings per annum.

‘And, w^h is as grievous as all the rest, wee hold these mean Liveings so precariously, that (not being inducted) wee are at all times liable to be turn’d out of them at the Vestry’s pleasure, without any canonical objections either alleadged or proved against us.

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‘So that wee must unanimously own that the circumstances of the Clergy of this Colony are most deplorable, and that the representation which was made thereof to his Maj^{ty} as such, was a good service to this Church, and pursuant to the earnest desires of the Clergy thereof at their Generall Meeting in the year 1690.

‘And therefore Wee humbly pray, That since the House of Burgesses hath shew’d so much averseness to the relief of the Clergy, Your Excellency would be pleased to make a favourable representation of our sad circumstances to His Most Gracious Maj^{ty}, and to intercede for us, that the same may be relieved in such way and manner as to his Royall wisdom and goodness shall seem most fitt and convenient.

James Blair, Commissary,

Cope D’Oyly,	Ch. Anderson,
James Sclater,	Jno. Monro,
Wm. Williams,	ffran. ffordyce,
Henry Pretty,	Jonathan Sanders,
Joseph Holt,	And. Cant,
Geo. Robinson,	John Alexander,
John Ball,	Ja. Wallace ^{es.}
And. Monro,	

* MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.

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It may be said, that these documents only furnish us with statement against statement, and supply no reason why more credit should be given to the one than to the other. If they were the only evidence upon the matter in dispute, I grant that it would be impossible to judge between them. But other testimony is at hand, which proves that this Address from the clergy was one which carried conviction with it; for, in the Session of the Grand Assembly, which commenced a few months afterwards, September 24. 1696, an Act was passed 'for the better supply and mentainance of the clergy,' which,—having acknowledged that the existing laws in their behalf seemed 'verry deficient and uncertain,'—provided that the salary of every minister should be fixed at 'the sume of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, besides their lawfull perquisites;' and that the Vestries should 'purchase and lay out a tract of land for the glebe att the discretion and att the charge of their respective Parishes, and likewise build and erect a convenient dwelling-house for the reception and aboard of the minister⁹⁹.' Such an Act never would have emanated from the House of Burgesses so soon after their favourable report touching the temporal condition of the clergy, had it not been ascertained that the report was untrue, and that the circumstances of the clergy were, indeed, as they themselves stated, 'most deplorable.'

Another specimen of the difficulties with which Blair had to contend, and which were chiefly caused by his own over zealous and tenacious spirit, is found

⁹⁹ Hening, iii. 151.

in the proceedings of the Council in Virginia. He had been admitted a member of it, July 21, 1694,—two days after Nicholson had left to assume the temporary government of Maryland,—and one of the earliest occasions upon which I find him taking a prominent part in its proceedings, was in the case of Mr. George Hudson, a clergyman, who had arrived in the Colony without a Licence from the Bishop of London, but who, upon proof of the validity of his Letters of Orders, and the acknowledgment of his error made through Mr. Commissary Blair, was, ‘no further restrained or discouraged from the exercise of his ministerial function¹⁰⁰.’ A few months after this, in April, 1695, Blair’s name occurs again, in connexion with an affair which must be admitted to cast upon him great discredit. A charge was brought against him, of having disputed the authority of the Government upon some ecclesiastical and parochial matters, and of having drawn comparisons, to the disparagement of Andros, between his character and that of Nicholson. His functions, as a Member of the Council were suspended upon the first announcement of these charges; and, after inquiry had been made into the truth of them, the Minutes state that ‘Mr. Blair not shewing any reason for any of his unjust reflections, nor so much as extenuating the same, the Council are still of opinion that the s^d Mr. Blair ought not to sitt at the Council Board¹⁰¹.’ It is quite evident that the conduct of Blair in this

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¹⁰⁰ MSS. (Virginia) State Paper Office.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

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matter, was open to grave censure; for, situated as he was, silence was no defence against such charges. Some justification, indeed, of his silence may have presented itself to his own mind; but I have not been able to ascertain what it was. Andros wrote home, in the following terms, an account of what had occurred:—‘ Being exceedingly concerned for the occasion of representing to your Grace ¹⁰², that Mr. Commissary Blair, President of the Colledge, and one of their Maj^{ties} Council, would not be obliged by all endeavours, nor containe himselfe within bounds, I beg leave to say to your Grace, that his restless comport I ever passed by, till the whole Council for his demeanour before them, faulting him as unfitt to be in Council, I thought it my duty, and necessary for their Maj^{ties} service, importing the Government authority here, to suspend him from assisting or attending in Council till further orders, as I made it my constant care to give all disposition and furtherance in all matters that relate to the Church or Colledge, so I do not yet heare of any omission or neglect on my part, all which is humbly submitted to y^r Grace, by

Y^r Grace’s obed^t and most Hum^{ble} Servant,
E. Andros.’

Defects in
Blair’s cha-
racter.

The circumstances above related make it evident, that, with all Blair’s excellent qualities, he was deficient in that patience, and gentleness, and for-

¹⁰² The endorsement of this letter shows that it was written by Andros to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was at that time Principal Secretary of State.

bearance which are among the choicest graces of the Christian character. It may perhaps be alleged as an excuse, that Andros was an arbitrary and despotic governor, and that Blair was only betrayed into an excess of zeal, by the necessity imposed upon him of resisting any invasion of the spiritual offices of the Church. But, it can hardly be supposed that the six Members of Council, who were present when the Minute recording Blair's suspension was agreed to, should have been equally unjust towards the Commissary. Besides which, it unfortunately happens, that the quarrel with Andros,—who, with all his despotism, was yet a strenuous promoter of the designs in which Blair was interested,—stands not alone. After the departure of that officer, and the re-appointment of Nicholson,—to whom, both on personal and public grounds, the members of the Church in Virginia felt themselves under very great obligation,—Blair appears to have come into collision also with him. Thus,—to anticipate, for a moment, the course of our history,—I find, at an early period of Queen Anne's reign, May 1, 1705, that Nicholson was compelled to lay some papers before the House of Burgesses, in answer to certain charges which had been preferred against his government by Blair and others¹⁰³. These charges related to certain matters which fell not properly within Blair's province; and, in

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¹⁰³ Ibid. I may here remark, that among the various documents of this period in the State Paper Office, are several lists of French Protestant refugees, to whom as-

sistance was given in Virginia by Governor Nicholson, at the express desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London.

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the triumphant answer which the governor then addressed to the House, he was provoked to say of the zealous Commissary, 'If he is no better a Divine than a Soldier, I think he understands Divinity very little.' It is a subject of thankfulness, indeed, to find that this temporary collision between Blair and Nicholson did not produce any lasting mischief to the Church in the Colony. Blair continued, even to the advanced age of eighty-eight, to discharge the important duties there entrusted to him, whilst his published Discourses continued to win for him the admiration of the pious and learned among his countrymen at home¹⁰⁴. Nevertheless, the path which he had to traverse would have been less arduous, the benefit which he sought to secure to the Church more valuable, and his own character more free from blemish, had he forborne to enter into the unseemly contests above adverted to.

MARY-
LAND.

Passing on now to Maryland, whose previous history has been given¹⁰⁵, we find, that, upon the death of Cecil Lord Baltimore, in 1675, his son Charles, who had been, for some time, deputy governor of the province, returned to England; but not until he had convened the Assembly, which employed itself in revising and amending the existing laws of the province. The government was appointed also to be carried on, during his absence, by a commission, acting in the name of his infant son, Cecil¹⁰⁶. His

¹⁰⁴ Waterland, in the Recomen-
datory Preface before referred
to, and published in 1740, speaks
of Blair as probably then alive.

¹⁰⁵ See pp. 107—130, and
166—174, *ante*.

¹⁰⁶ Chalmers, 364; M'Mahon,
i. 215.

main business at home was to answer complaints brought against him with respect to the condition of his Colony. Those urged by the Virginians, touching the defenceless state of the frontier, were proved groundless. Another was laid by Compton, Bishop of London, before the Committee of Plantations, founded upon a letter, from the Rev. Mr. Yeo, of Patuxent, in Maryland, to Sheldon, who was then in the last year of his Primacy¹⁰⁷. Chalmers has only given a part of the letter, and even that not literally; and the remarks of M'Mahon and Hawks rest only upon this imperfect extract. I have thought it better, therefore, to give the whole letter, as I have copied it from the original MS. in the State Paper Office:—

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The Rev.
Mr. Yeo.

‘ Most Reverend Father,

‘ Be pleased to pardon this presumption of mine in presenting to y^{or} serious notice these rude and undigested lines, w^{ch} (with humble submission) are to acquaint y^{or} Grace with y^e deplorable estate and condition of the Province of Maryland for want of an established ministry. Here are in this Province ten or twelve countys, and in them at least twenty thousand soules, and but three Protestant ministers of us y^t are conformable to y^e doctrine and discipline of y^e Church of England. Others there are, (I must confess,) y^t runne before they are sent, and pretend

¹⁰⁷ Sheldon died in 1676, and was succeeded by Sancroft. Beaton's Political Index, the ap-
pointment of the latter is erroneously assigned to the year 1667.

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they are ministers of the Gospell, y^t never had a legall call or ordination to such an holy office: neither (indeed) are they qualified for it, being, for the most part, such as never understood any thing of learning, and yet take upon them to be dispensers of y^e Word, and to administer y^e Sacrament of Baptisme; and sow seeds of division amongst y^e people; and no law provided for y^e suppression of such in this Province. Society here is in great necessitie of able and learned men to confute the gainsayers, especially having soe many profest enemies as the Popish Priests and Jesuits are, who are encouraged and provided for. And y^e Quaker takes care and provides for those y^e are speakers in their conventicles; but noe care is taken, or provision made, for the building up Christians in the Protestant Religion, by means whereof not only many dayly fall away either to Popery, Quakerisme, or Phana-ticisme, but also the Lord's Day is prophaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed; so that it is become a Sodom of uncleannesse, and a pest-house of iniquity. I doubt not but y^{or} Grace will take it into consideration, and do y^{or} utmost for our eternall welfare; and now is y^e time y^t y^{or} Grace may be an instrument of a universall reformation with greatest facility. Cæcilus Lord Barron Baltemore, and absolute Propriator of Maryland being dead, and Charles Lord Barron Baltemore and our Governour being bound for England this year, (as I am informed,) to receive a farther confirmation of y^e Province from His Majestie, at w^{ch} time, I doubt

not, but y^{or} Grace may soe prevaile with him, as y^t a maintenance for a Protestant ministry may be established as well in this Province as in Virginia, Barbados, and all other His Majestie's plantations in West Indies: and then there will be encouragement for able men to come amongst us, and y^t some person may have power to examine all such ministers as shall be admitted into any county or parish, in w^t Diocis and by w^t Bishop they were ordained, and to exhibit their l^{rs} of Orders to testifie the same, as y^t I think y^e generallitie of the people may be brought by degrees to a uniformitie; provided we had more ministers y^t were truly conformable to our mother y^e Church, and none but such suffered to preach amongst us. As for my own p^t, (God is my witness,) I have done my utmost indeavour in order thereunto, and shall, (by God's assistance,) whiles I have a being here, give manifest proof of my faithfull obedience to the Canons and Constitutions of our sacred mother.

'Yet one thing cannot be obtained here, (viz.) Consecration of Churches and Church-yards, to y^e end y^t Christians might be decently buried together, whereas now they bury in the severall plantations where they lived: unless y^{or} Grace thought it sufficient to give a Dispensation to some pious ministers (together with y^e manner and forme) to doe y^e same. And confident I am y^t you will not be wanting in any thing y^t may tend most to God's glorie and the good of the Church, by w^{ch} you will engage thou-

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CHAP. XVIII. } sands of soules to pray for y^{or} Grace's everlasting
happinesse, but especially,

'Y^{or} most obedient Son and Servant,

'JOHN YEO.'

Patuxant River, in
Maryland, 25th day of May, 1676.

M'Mahon, the historian of Maryland, has chosen to say, most unjustly, of the clergy who made or supported this statement, that they were influenced only by the most sordid and mercenary motives, and were envious of the endowments of the Romish Priesthood. It never seems to have entered his mind that men, ordained to preach the Gospel, should have been animated with the single and sincere desire to remove the difficulties which obstructed the execution of their trust. Hawks has very properly censured M'Mahon for having cast so unfair an imputation upon the Maryland clergy¹⁰⁸; but, among the reasons which he has offered in their defence, he has overlooked one most important fact, namely, that their present appeal was, in other words, nothing more than a petition for the enjoyment of a right distinctly promised under the original Charter;—one of its chief provisions having been, that all Churches and Chapels hereafter erected in the province, should be 'dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of

¹⁰⁸ M'Mahon, i. 216; Hawks's Ecclesiastical Contributions (Maryland), p. 50.

England.' The unfairness of delegating such a provision to a Roman Catholic Proprietor has been, once and again, pointed out, in the course of this Volume. The equitable and humane spirit of Baltimore and his descendants has also been described, as fully as the shameful return which they met with from the many contending sectaries who soon swarmed throughout the province¹⁰⁹. Nevertheless, the disadvantages, under which the Church of England, in spite of the plain provisions of the Charter in her favour, was placed by the events which occurred, were very great; and the remembrance of them ought to have led the historian of Maryland to spare the reproaches which he has cast upon her clergy.

A letter from Archbishop Sheldon to Bishop Compton, requesting him to lay Mr. Yeo's statement before the Privy Council Committee, and the answer returned to it by Lord Baltimore, are still extant; and it appears from the latter that he pleaded the impossibility of applying an immediate or complete remedy to the evil complained of. The character of the existing laws, and the strange, incongruous opinions of the men who formed a majority in the Assembly of Maryland, alike prevented it. Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, constituted three-fourths of the population; and the four clergy of the Church of England already in the province, he affirmed, had a decent subsistence¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹ See pp. 113—128, and 166—174, *ante*.

¹¹⁰ MSS. (Maryland) State Paper Office.

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The Committee, therefore, seeing that it was impracticable to deal with the matter immediately in the way which had been proposed, and trusting to the mildness and equity by which Baltimore's character was distinguished, contented themselves with recommending to him, in general terms, the necessity of adopting some further steps towards the support of the Maryland clergy.

Upon the return of Baltimore to his government, no laws appear to have been passed, which bore directly upon the question at issue. Several indeed were enacted, after his government had ceased; and, in 1694, five hundred and fifty acres of land were granted by a lay-member of our Church for the maintenance of a clergyman in Baltimore County; and, in 1696, the personal estate of another was given, for the same use, to St. George's and Poplar Hill Hundred¹¹¹.

But these efforts in behalf of our Church in Maryland, it will be seen, availed little to their proposed end, as long as the guidance of her natural and proper rulers was withheld from her.

Meanwhile, the elements of disturbance, which had long existed, and were brought into active operation by events which were passing at home, as well as in the province, made still more difficult the work which Yeo and his brethren were striving to accomplish. The large numerical preponderance of Protestant sectaries, who, from the time of their first

¹¹¹ Bacon's Laws, quoted by Hawks, *ut sup.*

settlement in the Colony, had been unremitting in their attempts to thwart and vex its Roman Catholic Proprietor, received a fresh impulse from the alarms which were created by real, or pretended, Popish conspiracies at home; and, availing himself of this opportunity, the traitorous Fendall, who has been before mentioned¹¹², appeared again as a leader of insurrection. Happily, his designs were frustrated, and he himself was banished; but Baltimore found himself threatened with yet more formidable dangers from home. Upon the charge,—groundless as it was afterwards found to be,—of showing undue favour towards the Roman Catholics of his province, Charles commanded him to put all offices into the hands of Protestants, and also to refund a large sum which, it was said, had been wrongfully kept back from the Crown. Upon Baltimore's arrival in England to avert the dangers which were gathering around him, the accession of James took place; but this event brought no relief to Baltimore, notwithstanding that the King and he were both members of the same religious communion. The King's avowed dislike of the administration of any Colonial government, which was not immediately dependent upon the Crown; and the other designs which he entertained against the liberties of the English people, made him deaf to the defence which Baltimore pleaded on his own behalf. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was directed, in April, 1687, to issue

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¹¹² See p. 174, *ante*.

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The proprietary government abolished.

During the absence of Baltimore from his province his authority was entrusted to deputies; and, for some time, no fresh disturbances appeared. But the jealousy, cherished by the majority of the inhabitants against a Roman Catholic Proprietor,—aggravated, as it could not fail to be, by tidings of events which took place in England,—waited only for an opportunity to make known its violence. The opportunity was soon afforded, by the measures of defence which the deputy governors thought it their duty to take against the apprehended invasion of England by the Dutch. The cry forthwith went abroad, that the Papists had leagued with the Indians to destroy all Protestants. Unfortunately, a delay in transmitting the commands of Baltimore, to proclaim William and Mary in the Colony, afforded a specious pretext for believing that he and his deputies were secretly inclined to the cause of James; and an armed association was formed, in April, 1689, ‘for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the right of King William and Queen Mary to that province, and all the English dominions.’ At the head of this Association was a man, named John Coode, who, it was said, had once entered into Holy Orders, but whose life was a shameless disavowal of all that was just and true. Assuming, at one time, the office of

¹¹³ Chalmers, 368—372; M’Mahon, i. 217—220.

a colonel of militia, and, at another, that of a receiver of customs, and having already borne a part in Fendall's insurrection, he became also notorious for his profligacy and open advocacy of infidel and blasphemous opinions, for which he was, at a later period, tried and committed. Thus, retribution came upon him in the end; but, meanwhile, his name may be regarded as attaching infamy to any design which he was zealous to promote. In the present instance, indeed, the movement with which he was connected, brought about a complete revolution in the constitution of Maryland. The deputy governors were unable to resist the force brought against them. A house of delegates was then formed, by which 'Articles of Grievances' were framed and forwarded to the King, urging the abolition of the Proprietary government, and declaring the Colony absolved from paying any allegiance to it. William granted their prayer; and, sanctioning a course of proceedings which, if rightly designated, could be called nothing else than flat rebellion, gave orders that the government of the province should, for the present, be carried on, in his name, by the self-appointed convention. In June, 1691, he constituted Maryland a Royal Colony; and Sir Lionel Copley, having arrived as its governor, in the following year, the convention was dissolved, and the Crown of England recognized as the sole source of all authority¹¹⁴.

I am not here called upon to consider the merits

¹¹⁴ Chalmers, 370—384; M'Mahon, i. 229—240.

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of the grievances which the members of the above convention brought forward as a justification of their acts. But, as the history of all revolutions is a history of authority provoking resistance by misrule, they were probably neither so frivolous or unjust as Chalmers represents them. At all events, in the list furnished by him, one is set forth, of which it is impossible to deny the truth, namely this: 'The Churches, which by the Charter should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, are converted to the use of Popish idolatry.' The reader has but to refer to the Charter, and he will see that it plainly provided that the Churches in the Colony should be so consecrated. The greatness, therefore, as well as the consequences of that error, which Charles the First and his counsellors, and the first Lord Baltimore, alike committed,—they, in granting, and he, in receiving, such a trust, under the circumstances in which he was placed ¹¹⁵,—are here made manifest; and, if proof be required of the fact, that crime brings with it its own punishment, assuredly none can be supplied more strong than that which exhibits his descendants, at an interval of little more than fifty years, charged with the violation of that trust, and stripped of all the ample privileges and prerogatives which accompanied it.

The Church
of England
established
in the pro-
vince.

The first Act, passed by the Assembly of Maryland, under a royal governor, was for the recognition of William and Mary; the second was 'for the service

¹¹⁵ See p. 115, *ante*.

of Almighty God, and the establishment of the Protestant Religion.' The declaration of the inviolability of the rights and franchises of the Church; the division of the several Counties into Parishes; the constitution of Vestries; and the imposition of a tax of forty pounds of tobacco per poll, upon each taxable person in the province, as a fund for the building or repairing of Churches, or the support of the minister, or other pious uses, constituted its chief provisions ¹¹⁶. The ten Counties were divided into thirty-one Parishes, which, like those in Virginia, often extended to a most inconvenient length. The number of clergy at this time, according to some accounts, amounted to sixteen, but according to others, was not more than three ¹¹⁷. Enough, therefore, was done by such enactments of the provincial legislature, to provoke the instant opposition of all who were not in communion with the Church, and the reproaches of those writers, who, in any later age, are adverse to religious establishments ¹¹⁸; but not enough to ensure the faithful and constant discharge of those important duties, in consideration of which alone such enactments are made. The infant Church of Maryland was thus beset by precisely the same difficulties which, it has been seen, operated so hurtfully in Virginia ¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁶ Bacon's Laws, 1692, c. 11.

¹¹⁷ Griffiths's Annals of Baltimore, and Fulham MSS. quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 72, 73.

¹¹⁸ M'Mahon holds a conspicuous rank among these; and his

remarks upon the above Act, i. 243, 244, are distinguished by the same want of candour, which I have before noticed in the case of Mr. Yeo's Letter.

¹¹⁹ See pp. 100, 101, *ante*.

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Nicholson,
Governor.

The administration of Copley was soon terminated by his death; and his successor, Sir Francis Nicholson, who arrived from England, in 1694, gave most valuable aid, in some respects, to the efforts of the Church in the extension of Christian truth, but, in others, retarded them. His untiring zeal, his generous munificence, his hearty desire to befriend and aid the clergy, who accompanied him from England, and those whom he found already at work in the province, are evidences of the one. His hasty temper, his want of self-restraint, his despotic demeanour, his rigorous treatment of persons not in communion with the Church, especially the Quakers,—whose history in Maryland closely resembles, in this respect, that which was exhibited throughout every other part of the British empire, during the same period,—supply not less distinct testimony of the other.

At an early period of Nicholson's government, we find Churches erected in different counties of Maryland, and eight clergymen appointed to them. In Annapolis, also, which,—receiving its name from Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne,—was now made the capital of the province, he began the erection of a brick Church, the only building of that description hitherto constructed in the country of such durable materials. Moreover, upon his recommendation, the Assembly petitioned William and Mary to provide for the establishment of a free school in every county; a measure, which Nicholson was especially

anxious to promote, as a means of supplying pupils to the College which had lately been founded in Virginia ¹²⁰.

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The benefits which, in that province, had followed the appointment of Blair to the important post of Commissary, naturally led the clergy and legislature of Maryland to solicit, from the Bishop of London, the like assistance for themselves; and he, in compliance with their request,—addressed to him in 1695,—nominated as his Commissary among them one who had already acquired a high reputation in England as a Preacher, Author, and Parish-priest, and whose name will ever be conspicuous in the annals of her Domestic and Colonial Church,—Dr. Thomas Bray. Born at Marston, in Shropshire, in 1656, and educated, first at Oswestry, in the same county, and afterwards at Hart Hall, Oxford, he had pursued his ministerial labours chiefly in the Parish of Sheldon, in the county of Warwick. The favourable notice of its patron, Lord Digby, had been attracted, in the first instance, it is said, by an Assize Sermon, which Bray preached at Warwick. In that field of labour, he learnt practically the duties and the wants of a Parochial minister; and there, too, he composed the first volume of his Catechetical Lectures, the rapid sale of which bore witness to the success with which he engaged the public mind in the study of its important subject. Upon agreeing to undertake the important office proposed to him by Bishop Compton,

Dr. Bray,
Commissary.

His services
at home and
abroad.

¹²⁰ Fulham MSS. and other authorities, quoted by Hawks, ut sup. 78—82.

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in April, 1696, his first object was to obtain, under the authority of her Bishops, such assistance from the Church at home, as might provide sufficient Libraries for the clergy who were to serve abroad. Thinking it probable that such men would, for the most part, be least able to furnish themselves with books, and that, without books, many most important ends of their mission would be frustrated, he urged it as an imperative duty upon their brethren to make that provision for them. The justice of his appeal was at once confessed, as appears from a paper still in Lambeth Library, bearing the signatures of Tenison, then Archbishop of Canterbury; of Sharp, Archbishop of York; of Compton, Bishop of London; of Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield; of Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester; of Patrick, Bishop of Ely; and of Moore, Bishop of Norwich. It declares the readiness of all these Prelates to 'contribute cheerfully towards these Parochial Libraries;' and expresses the hope that 'many pious persons, out of love to religion and learning,' would also do the same. The hope was realized. Before his laborious and useful life reached its close, Bray had the satisfaction of seeing not less than thirty-nine Parochial Libraries established in North America. The chief of them was at Annapolis,—the Princess, after whom that city was named, having given most valuable contributions towards it,—and others, containing, in some instances, more than a thousand volumes each, were spread over the whole country, from Massachusetts in the north, to the farthest borders of South

Carolina. The ravages, indeed, of time and war have since made sad havoc among the precious stores which piety and wisdom so carefully treasured up; but, even to this day, some volume, once belonging to these Libraries, may be found, the sight of which, Dr. Hawks justly acknowledges, should 'serve, for the time, in place of a more enduring monument to the memory of one of the best benefactors that the Episcopal Church in America ever had ¹²¹.'

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But the towns and villages of the Western Continent were not the only places to which Bray extended these benefits. The Bermudas, Newfoundland, and the factories of the Royal African Company, also bore witness to his provident and fostering care, and gratefully acknowledged the like gifts which they received at his hands. And, further still, his brethren in England received not less signal proof of his zeal and sympathy in their behalf. Whilst men taunted him with the cry, so often echoed in our own day,—that 'charity should begin at home,' and that there was enough of poverty among the clergy and parishes at home to occupy it,—he gave the best proof that he was not only mindful of the wants of home, but more strenuous in his efforts to relieve them than even they had shown themselves to be, who insisted the most strongly upon its claims. At the very time that he was engaged in providing for the efficient ministra-

¹²¹ Hawks, ut sup. 85.

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tions of the clergy in Maryland, he projected a scheme for establishing Parochial and Lending Libraries, in every Deanery throughout England and Wales; and also Libraries for the benefit of students about to take Holy Orders, and for Schools poorly endowed. He never lost sight of this project. He commenced it, before he set sail from England; and was always busy in promoting it, in the midst of those unwearied labours which he sustained, abroad and at home, in behalf of the Colonial Church. He published, in 1703, an Essay, which described, most powerfully, the necessity and importance of this work; and, in 1709, he had the satisfaction of seeing, in consequence of his renewed appeals, an Act passed by Parliament 'for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in England.' He strove to make the scheme a source of blessing to every quarter of the kingdom. In the Isle of Man alone, he founded, in concert with the excellent Bishop Wilson, sixteen Lending Libraries; and sixty-seven others were established by him, in various Dioceses of England and Wales.

And thus it ever must be. The heart which is really kindled with the fire of Christian love, can no more bound its influences within any narrow confines, than can the sun its brightness or its heat. The objects nearest to it, of course, feel those influences in their first, and strongest, force; and so the claims of family, of neighbourhood, of friends, of country, receive, as they ought, in order, the tribute which belongs to them before all others. But whoso would limit the

offices of brotherly kindness to these, and deem the remoteness of any region in the wide universe a reason for shutting out all thought of its inhabitants, acts not only against the plain precepts of God's Word, but the testimony supplied by the most faithful of his servants. Let the search be made among them now, as in the generations of old, and the same result will be arrived at, namely, that they who are the most forward to promote the welfare of their brethren in distant Colonies, are, above all others, they whose efforts never slacken in behalf of all that concerns them most intimately at home.

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Theirs was the spirit that animated Bray; and he was not long in finding others who shared the same. Before he set foot in Maryland, he had increased the number of clergy to sixteen, and had also induced others to go out to other provinces. He would have been their companion, in the first instance, but for the necessity laid upon him to complete some of the schemes which he had formed for their benefit, and to lay the foundation of others. For this cause, an interval of more than three years elapsed, before he embarked upon his mission; but it is right to state, that, during the whole of that period, he lived at his own expense; receiving not any part of the small stipend of 400*l.* a year, which, it was stated, should hereafter belong to him as Commissary, and refusing preferment of larger amount, which more than once was offered to him. And, even when the hour of his embarkation arrived, Dec. 12, 1699, he bore all the charges of his outfit

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and voyage, defraying part of them by the sale of the scanty personal property which remained at his disposal, and resorting to his credit for the future liquidation of the rest.

The interval, of which I now write, from 1696 to 1700, was marked by events of deepest interest to the Church of England; and no man bore a more conspicuous part in them than Dr. Bray. It was then that he drew up the plan of a Society, to be incorporated by Charter, for the spread of Christian Knowledge, by establishing Libraries for the benefit of the poorer clergy, and schools for the education of children at home; and by completing the design, already begun, for fixing similar Libraries throughout the Plantations; by appointing sufficient Missionaries for all Plantations not yet provided with them; by allotting gratuities, or pensions, to those whose 'merit' was proved to be 'more than ordinary, by their learning, labour, and success in their ministry and mission;' by providing especially for 'such ministers as shall most hazard their persons in attempting the conversion of the Negroes or native Indians;' and by supporting the destitute widows and children of Missionaries, more particularly 'of such as by their zeal and industry in converting souls may have occasioned the loss of life or goods.' The original manuscript sketch, thus prepared by Bray, is still in the Library of Sion College; and upon the basis thus laid down, was speedily erected the Society which has ever since borne the honoured name of "THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN

KNOWLEDGE." Bray was one of the five members who met together, for the first time, March 8, 1698-9, to commence that holy work; and they were speedily joined by others, Bishops, Clergy, and Lay-members of our Church at home, who forthwith opened a correspondence with Professor Franck, of Halle in Saxony; Ostervald, of Neufchatel; Jablonski, of Berlin, and others, whose names still live in the literature and theology of Europe.

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Bray applied himself all the more earnestly to this work, by reason of his having failed, in the preceding year, to obtain from Parliament the assistance which he had sought towards the same end. Upon the introduction of a Bill, for alienating certain lands which had been set apart for superstitious uses, and vesting them in Greenwich Hospital, he had petitioned the House that a part of the above property might be allotted to the purpose of extending the Gospel in the Plantations; but, although his Petition was favourably received, nothing more was done in its behalf. He had next petitioned the King to appropriate to that object certain arrears of taxes due to the Crown; and, in order to obtain a completion of the grant, had followed William to Holland; but the taxes proved little worth. The only way, then, by which it seemed possible to attain the desired object, was by the voluntary association of faithful and zealous men. He rejoiced to see it begun, before he left England; and finding,—upon his return, in 1700, on the business of the Maryland Church,—that the

work of the Society had greatly increased, and that an opportunity was supplied for entering into the second department of labour which he had marked out in his original sketch,—he lost no time in soliciting, and obtaining, from the King a Charter for the incorporation of a separate Society, whose duty should be to propagate the Gospel of Christ throughout the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire. The influence of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton was exerted, heartily and promptly, in support of this application, and its success must, in great part, be ascribed to their aid; but Bray is distinctly and gratefully recognized, in documents yet extant, as their most valuable coadjutor. The Charter, thus granted to THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, bears date June 16, 1701¹²³.

Resuming now the notice of Bray's labours in Maryland, we find the circumstances of his first voyage thither connected with one of those painful struggles, which marked the early history of the province, and the causes and progress of which have already been explained. Among the Acts of its Legislature, from 1692 to 1696, for the establishment of the Church, was one, in the latter year, which repealed all former Acts relating to the same subject, and declared 'that the Church of England within this province, shall enjoy, all and singular, her rights,

¹²³ See Appendix, No. IV., and also No. V. The last of these is a verbatim Copy of the First Report, which has lately been reprinted by the Society, in its original form, upon a folio sheet.

privileges, and freedoms, as it is now, or shall be at any time hereafter, established by law in the kingdom of England; and that His Majesty's subjects of this province shall enjoy all their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of the kingdom of England, in all matters and causes where the laws of this province are silent.' The Roman Catholics and Quakers in the Colony, who had long made common cause against the Church of England, saw that the terms of this Act were open to attack; and, since it was necessary that the Act should be first laid before the Commissioners of Trade, and then receive the sanction of the Crown, before it could become law, it was contrived that the petition to that effect should not reach the King; and an Order of Council was passed, in the autumn of 1699, annulling the Act, and saying that it contained 'a clause declaring all the laws of England to be in force in Maryland; which clause is of another nature than that which is set forth by the title in the said law.' This defeat of the Maryland Legislature is ascribed to the dexterous management of the Quakers, whose agents were upon the alert, and to the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London from the meeting of the Privy Council which issued the above Order. To make the humiliation more complete, a Quaker was entrusted to take out the Order to America.

It so happened that Bray was a passenger on board the same ship; and a tedious voyage of nearly three months gave him ample time to consider the

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course which it was best for him to pursue, and which the present crisis of affairs was certainly not calculated to make less difficult. Upon his arrival, he found the governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, most willing to help him. The time of meeting of the Assembly was still some weeks distant; and Bray employed the interval in obtaining information, from every authentic source which he could reach, touching the condition of the Church in the province. He found, that, whilst a twelfth of the whole population were Roman Catholics, and a somewhat larger proportion Quakers, a very large majority of the rest belonged to the Church of England. At the same time that he was thus engaged, he was diligent and faithful in all the other duties of his office; and his preaching was especially welcome to the people. Indeed, the early influence which he acquired,—a remarkable proof of which is to be found in a vote of thanks, proposed by the Assembly to him at their meeting,—seems to have betrayed its members and himself into a serious error. In the Act, then passed for the establishment of the Church in Maryland,—re-instituting most of the former provisions upon the same subject, prohibiting any minister from holding more than two Parishes, (and those only under special circumstances,) and permitting, with certain restrictions, the employment of lay-readers,—the following clause occurs: ‘That the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, with the rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of Eng-

land, the Psalter and Psalms of David, and Morning and Evening Prayer therein contained, be solemnly read, and by all and every minister, or reader, in every Church, *or other place of public worship*, within this province.' Now, to insist upon the observance of the Book of Common Prayer, with all other 'rites and ceremonies, according to the use of the Church of England,' in every place of public worship within the province, whether belonging to her communion or not, was manifestly a most unjustifiable proceeding. It contravened not only the Statutes of Maryland, which, during the proprietorship of Lord Baltimore, had granted liberty of conscience and worship unto all,—and the Toleration Act, passed in 1689 at home, by which all persons dissenting from the Church of England (except Roman Catholics and persons denying the Holy Trinity) were relieved, upon certain conditions, from the laws by which they had been hitherto restrained,—but it violated, what was even yet more sacred than any enactments of human legislation, those unalterable principles of justice to which the conscience instinctively pays homage, and the authority of which is proclaimed in the Word of God. It can excite no surprise, therefore, to learn that both the Roman Catholics and the Quakers in the Colony should have done their utmost to prevent such an Act from receiving the sanction of the Crown. Bray himself was requested to return home, with a view of promoting the object which the Assembly were so desirous to accomplish; and, finding upon

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his arrival, that the enemies of the measure had, in their zeal, put forth certain statements, concerning the intended provision for the Church, which were utterly false, he drew up and published a Memorial refuting most distinctly their charges, and describing the real condition of religion in America at that time. Meanwhile, the objectionable clause, to which I have just adverted, was urged as a reason for rejecting the Act; and, the Attorney General having given, as he could not but give, an opinion condemnatory of the clause, there seemed every reason to apprehend that the whole measure, proposed by the provincial Legislature, would be again defeated. And this, probably, would have been the result, but for the interposition of Bray, who,—seeing the sympathy which his Memorial had excited in the public mind, and conscious of the grave error which had been committed by the introduction of the clause in question,—prevailed upon the Commissioners of Trade to consent to the drawing up another Bill, which, being approved of by them, should be sent to Maryland, and, being passed without alteration by her Assembly, should then be returned to England for confirmation. This arrangement was at length effected; and the final consent of the Crown to the Bill so passed, was given in the following terms: ‘Have the Quakers the benefit of a toleration? Let the Established Church have an established maintenance.’

In noticing the history of this transaction, it is impossible not to regret that Bray should ever have

agreed to the insertion of a clause so justly obnoxious to reproach. From the tone of his Memorial, and the general character of his proceedings, I cannot but think that his better judgment was, for the time, overruled by the eager spirit of the Assembly, and the resolute will of Nicholson. At all events, the readiness with which he assumed, when he was alone in England, the responsibility of expunging the clause, and of framing another Act, without reference to the wishes of men whose minds were exasperated by local feuds, proves that he had both candour to avow, and boldness to correct, the wrong which had been committed.

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Before Bray's departure from Maryland, he held, at Annapolis, a general Visitation of the clergy, who were seventeen in number. Their names, and those of their Parishes, together with all other records of proceedings which then took place, have lately been re-printed in the Appendix to Dr. Hawks's Narrative. A Charge was then delivered by the Commissary, full of wisdom and practical exhortation; pointing out, first, the chief rules to be observed in the duties of catechizing, preaching, and private ministerial instruction; and enjoining, secondly, the necessity of forming and maintaining discipline among themselves,—a necessity, made more imperative by the temptations of a long sea-voyage, to which all persons going to the Colony were exposed, and by the facility with which clergymen of immoral lives, at that time, found protection within its borders. Upon this part of his subject, the Commissary was not

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content with delivering a general sentence of admonition, but appealed, in terms of most solemn remonstrance, to one of the clergy then present,—against whom a charge of immorality had been brought, and, to a certain extent, established,—and summoned him to make such defence as he was able, at a time and place then agreed upon.

This Visitation was marked by another act, too important to be here omitted, namely, a proposal, made by the Commissary, and accepted by the clergy, to send a minister into Pennsylvania, and support him at their own charges, until a settled provision could be made for him in that province. The extravagances, which distinguished most of the Quakers of that day,—developed the more rapidly, and maintained the more obstinately, by reason of the many and cruel persecutions which they suffered,—had produced so painful an impression upon the minds of many pious Churchmen, that they regarded them, and spoke of them, as apostates and unbelievers. And, since Pennsylvania had been recently colonized by one of the most distinguished of that body, and his followers were already acquiring great influence in that quarter, it was natural that Bray, and others like him, who sincerely believed their tenets to be most pernicious, should turn their attention thither. The clergy of Maryland, therefore, not only commenced, at that time, a subscription amongst themselves to support a missionary in Pennsylvania, but requested Bray to make known the design to Blair, the Commissary in Virginia, and

gain the assistance of him, and of the clergy under his jurisdiction. A more fitting opportunity will be found hereafter, to examine the merits of those charges, which the enemies of Quakerism urged against it, and of the defence which its advocates maintained; and the merits of those censures which each employed against the other will then be considered. All that I am here anxious to impress upon the attention of the reader is, that, if the prosecution of missionary labours be regarded,—as it is most justly,—the sign of a vigorous and healthful spirit animating the Church which is so engaged, this praise must with gratitude be assigned to the infant Church of Maryland.

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Resuming now our notice of Bray's career, we find, that, when he returned to England upon the business before adverted to, he gave, as upon former occasions, convincing proof of his readiness to account no personal sacrifice too great towards the accomplishment of his designs. He bore alone the expenses incurred by his visit; and when, after having thus exhausted his private means, he received gifts amounting to four hundred pounds, from friends at home, and in the Colony, who were anxious to repair his losses, he applied nearly the whole sum to the cause of the Church in Maryland. He employed himself also most diligently in enlisting the sympathies of his countrymen at home, in behalf of the same cause; reiterating the facts which he had already published in his Memorial; and showing that there were required, for the service of our North

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American Colonies, at least forty clergymen, in the fulness of their strength and manhood, who should be animated with 'a true missionary spirit, have an ardent zeal for God's glory, and the salvation of men's souls,' and be able, from their proficiency in all the collateral studies of their sacred calling, "to convince the gainsayers." He proposed, too, that under the authority of the Bishops, some one or more of the clergy thus qualified, and chosen in each Diocese by the Bishop for the work, should be invited to go out; and, that, from the laity and clergy of each Parish, offerings should be received, and passed through the hands of the Archdeacon and Bishop for their support. This proposal, in its literal form, was never acted upon; but the attention drawn to the subject led to the immediate formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Whilst thus labouring at home in support of Maryland, Bray was not less active in writing to the clergy in that province, and urging them to bear in mind the several subjects which had been set before them at the recent Visitation. Had these letters been promptly followed by the personal resumption of his duties among them, a great and lasting benefit would have been secured. But it was judged,—most erroneously, as I think,—that his services would be more useful by remaining at home, than by returning to Maryland. He deputed, indeed, to three of her clergy the discharge of some of the duties of his office; but this authority was either insufficient of itself, or the parties, entrusted

with it, were unwilling to put it in force. Nothing was done by them; and, in consequence of the disorders which ensued, another Commissary, Mr. Huetson, Archdeacon of Armagh, and the early friend of Bishop Wilson, was, upon the recommendation of Bray, appointed by the Bishop of London.

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The sequel of Dr. Bray's life, and the events which happened in Maryland after the appointment of his successor, it is intended to notice in the next Volume. I will only here glance, by anticipation, at two points, because they are connected with subjects to which the reader's attention has already been directed. The first has reference to the efforts made, through the instrumentality of Bray, for the conversion and education of the Negroes. We have seen the wretched treatment to which they were exposed in the West Indies, and the strenuous, though ineffectual, effort made for their relief by Morgan Godwyn¹²³; and it is a matter of thankfulness to find, that the spirit of that faithful minister was shared by Dr. Bray, and that he succeeded in forming a plan, in his own lifetime, for the instruction of the Negro race in North America, which, to this day, continues associated with his name. It arose from an acquaintance which he had made with Mr. D'Allone in Holland, when he visited that country for the object before mentioned. That gentleman, having frequently conversed, at that time, with Dr. Bray upon the degraded state of the slave

¹²³ See pp. 503, 504, *ante*.

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population in our Colonies, bequeathed to him, and afterwards, the sum of nine hundred pounds, with the view of forming a fund to be applied to their instruction. Dr. Bray, having undertaken the trust, and having been attacked afterwards, in 1723, with an illness which threatened to terminate his life, nominated certain persons to carry on the work. Their authority was confirmed by a decree in Chancery, in 1731,—the year after his death,—and the title of 'DR. BRAY'S ASSOCIATES,' which they received in 1733, has ever since been retained by them. At first, the interest of the fund committed to their hands, was applied to the support of a Catechist for the Negroes in Georgia. It has since been devoted, together with other benefactions for the same object, to the maintenance of Schools for the education of Negro children in Nova Scotia, Philadelphia, and the Bahamas ¹²⁴.

Petition of
the clergy
for a Bishop.

The other point to which I wish, for a moment, to call the attention of the reader, is the effort which Bray made to obtain the appointment of a Bishop of the Church in Maryland, before he resigned the office of Commissary. He had, doubtless, been cognizant of the attempts made to obtain the like appointment for Virginia; and, in order that the same objection, which had been urged successfully upon that occasion ¹²⁵, might not again operate, he pro-

¹²⁴ See Reports of the Institution, established by the late Rev. Dr. Bray, and his Associates, for founding Clerical Libraries, and

supporting Negro Schools. Few institutions are more deserving of encouragement and support.

¹²⁵ See p. 569, *ante*.

jected a plan of raising, by private contributions, a sum for the purchase of a plantation in the Colony, upon which the Bishop might reside, and by which he might be supported. Several contributions were received in aid of this scheme; and, if, in the sincere conviction that such an appointment was essential to the well-being of her Church, a faithful and fit man had been chosen and consecrated to the office, there can be no doubt that the whole amount required would soon have been received. But opposing influences, on both sides of the Atlantic, were directed against the plan; and it fell to the ground. The character of this opposition was, in substance, the same with that which was exercised, with the like fatal success, at subsequent periods of the eighteenth century; and its origin, progress, and results, will be found to supply materials for not the least interesting and instructive portions of the ecclesiastical history of that period. I defer the consideration of it, therefore, at present, with the remark that the effect of the failure of the plan was to leave the Church in Maryland in precisely the same disadvantageous position which she occupied in Virginia;—recognized, that is, and established by the laws of a provincial Legislature, but deprived of her proper guidance and the real sources of her strength ¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ See pp. 592, 593, *ante*. The above notice of Bray is gathered from the Biog. Brit.; Chalmers's Biog. Dic.; Todd's Edition of 'Public Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of Bray'; Murray's Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and Bray's MSS. in Sion College, which are the source of all the rest. The second of them, in fact, forms the substance of the history of his Life and Designs, and is copied without any acknowledgment.

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Of the remaining Colonies in North America at this period, there is only room, in the present Volume, to give such an account as may suffice to show the general character of those difficulties which the Church had to encounter, then and afterwards, in each. A minuter relation will fall in more conveniently with the subsequent history.

DELA-
WARE.

I notice Delaware first, because it is the province nearest to Maryland on the east, which has now a separate existence. It was a portion of that territory which, I have already said, had been originally colonized by emigrants from Sweden and Finland, and afterwards wrested from them by the Dutch¹²⁷. In 1664, the Dutch submitted to Sir Robert Carr; and Delaware, with its capital, Newcastle, was annexed to the government of New York. In 1672, Charles the Second included it in a patent to his brother the Duke of York; who, after much solicitation from William Penn, conveyed it by deed to him, in 1682, and it continued, for a long time afterwards, an integral part of Pennsylvania¹²⁸.

PENNSYL-
VANIA.

The name of this Colony at once brings to our mind that of its celebrated founder. He was the only son of Admiral Penn, who had brought Jamaica in subjection to the Commonwealth; and, having been trained up in childhood among the Independents, had avowed, whilst he was a student at

¹²⁷ See pp. 402, 403, *ante*.

¹²⁸ Morse's Geography in loc.; Chalmers, 634. 643. The latter describes the sale of Delaware to Penn by the Duke of York as a

transaction which reflects great dishonour on both parties; and gives reasons which amply justify his assertion.

Oxford, his sympathy for the preaching of the Quakers¹²⁹. Many counteracting influences were brought to bear upon him, for the purpose of weakening or removing this impression,—his father's displeasure,—the novelties of foreign travel,—an intimate acquaintance with Amyrault, the celebrated Huguenot pastor,—the study of the law at home,—the attractions of society, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments;—but none of these things turned aside the current of his thoughts. In 1666, when he was in the very flower of his youth, he appeared publicly as a preacher of the doctrines which he had thus cherished; and encountered cheerfully all the severities and indignities which, we have seen, were heaped¹³⁰, with such shameful rigour, upon non-conformists in that day. In his case, the struggle was rendered more painful by the knowledge that his father's anger was kindled into a fresh flame, and that he was without a home and pennyless. His mother, indeed, still followed him in heart and affection, and did what she could to minister to his necessities. But the young man gloried in persecutions. He sought out, even in the palace of the King, the courtiers whom he had once known, and told them plainly of the wrong which they had done, and were doing. The prison opened wide its doors to receive this bold and stubborn

¹²⁹ It is hardly necessary to remark, that, whenever I apply this designation to the Society of Friends, it is only in compliance with common usage, which Sewel, their own historian, has followed, and without any reference to the reproachful meaning originally attached to the term.

¹³⁰ See p. 451, *ante*.

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teacher. He entered within them readily; and declared that the prison should be his grave sooner than that he would recant. Months passed away; his resolution was still unbroken; and, at the intercession of the Duke of York, he was released; but, it was only to defy again the coercive power of yet more rigorous enactments, and again to be immured. His trial followed, the records of which, still extant, stamp indelible disgrace upon the judge, and exhibit the accused,—not only, by the verdict of the jury, declared ‘Not guilty,’—but, by his calm and intelligent defence, proving that his accusers were the really guilty. Yet, even then, his liberty was not gained. Upon a charge of contempt of court, he was sent back to prison, until the fines, which he refused to pay, were paid. His father, by their payment, freed him; and, in the closing hours of his life, took back to his arms the son from whom he had been, for a time, estranged, and left him his blessing and earthly fortunes.

The memorable trial of Penn occurred in the year 1670. His marriage soon followed. Then arose his interest in the growing settlements of North America; and, in 1674, soon after the return of George Fox from his travels in those regions, Penn joined with several of his brethren in purchasing the Western moiety of New Jersey of Lord Berkeley, and, not long afterwards, the Eastern moiety of the same province, of the heirs of Carteret, who had been joint proprietors with Berkeley. In 1680, he applied to Charles for a grant of land, extending five

degrees west of the River Delaware, and three degrees north of Maryland. The ground of his application was the existence of a debt, amounting to sixteen thousand pounds, due to him, upon his father's account, from the Crown; and through the intervention of the Duke of York and other influential friends at Court, he succeeded in obtaining this vast territory. The Charter, erecting it into a province, to be called Pennsylvania, was most carefully considered by the first legal authorities of the day,—chiefly with a view of preventing those evils which, we have seen, had arisen out of the neglect or misinterpretation of the provisions of the New England Charter¹³¹,—and was signed, March 4, 1681. It conferred upon Penn rights and privileges closely resembling those of former Charters described in this Volume; and, for that reason, I do not think it necessary to recite them here. I would only remark one stipulation, which was inserted in it by desire of the Bishop of London, that, whensoever twenty inhabitants requested a minister of the Church of England to reside among them, he should be allowed to do so without molestation.

Penn had already received tidings from America, which assured him that many of her native Indians were men, generous, grateful, and intelligent. His brethren,—who had recently purchased the Colony of New Jersey, and laid, in 1677, the foundations of Burlington, its capital,—had furnished him with the best proof of this cheering fact, in a conference

¹³¹ See pp. 308—320, *ante*.

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which they had held, in that place, with some Indian Sachems. The cause of the conference was a rumour of intended hostilities by the Indians, on account of the small-pox having been designedly conveyed, as it was said, in some matchcoats which the English had sold to them. After the English had shown the futility of this charge, one of the Sachems thus spoke, in behalf of the rest: 'Our young men may speak such words as we do not like, and we cannot help that; and some of your young men may speak such words as you do not like, and you cannot help that. We have no mind to war; we are minded to live at peace. If we intend at any time to make war upon you, we will let you know of it, and the reasons why we make war with you; and if you make us satisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war on you; and if you intend at any time to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it, and the reason; and then if we do not make satisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us, otherwise you ought not to do it. You are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you; we are willing to have a broad path for you and us to walk in, and if an Indian is asleep in this path, the Englishman shall pass by, and do him no harm; and if an Englishman is asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass by him, and say, he is an Englishman, he is asleep; let him alone; he loves to sleep. It shall be a plain path; there must not be in this path a stump to hurt our

feet. And as to the small-pox, it was once in my grandfather's time, and it could not be the English that could send it to us then, there being no English in the country; and it was once in my father's time, they could not send it us then neither; and now it is in my time, I do not believe that they have sent it us now; I do believe it is the man above that hath sent it us.' Upon another occasion also, a conference was held between the English and the Indian Sachems, on the subject of putting an end to the sale of ardent spirits; and one of them said, 'The strong liquor was first sold to us by the Dutch; and they were blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it was for our hurt. The next people that came among us were the Swedes, who continued the sale of those strong liquors to us; they were also blind, they had no eyes, they did not see it to be hurtful to us to drink it, although we know it to be hurtful to us. But if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it that we cannot forbear it: when we drink it, it makes us mad: we do not know what we do, we then abuse one another, we throw each other into the fire. Seven score of our people have been killed by reason of drinking it, since the time it was first sold us: those people that sell it are blind, they have no eyes. But now there is a people come to live amongst us that have eyes, they see it to be for our hurt, and we know it to be for our hurt, they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good, we are glad such a people are come amongst us. We must put it down by mutual consent; the

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cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by day nor by night, in the light nor in the dark; and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe, and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement that we make with you; and we would have you tell your children that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses betwixt us and you of this agreement ¹³².

To establish a settlement in lands, of which the native inhabitants could cherish and express sentiments such as these, was a hopeful enterprise. In a few weeks after the Charter had been signed, Penn despatched his kinsman, Markham, to prepare the way for his taking possession of the country. Markham was the bearer of a letter from Penn to his future dependents, which deserves to be recorded once more. It was to this effect:—

‘ My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the King’s choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own

¹³² Smith’s History of New Jersey, 99—102. The wampum belt consisted of black and white beads made of a fish-shell.

making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his Person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you.

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‘I am your true Friend,
‘WM. PENN.’

London, 8th of the
month called, April, 1681.

He addressed a similar letter, a few months afterwards, to the natives, declaring, that they were all responsible to the One God, whose law was written in their hearts, and that, by virtue of it, they were bound to love, and do good to one another. In the year following, he sailed from England, to assume the government of his province. He landed, in October, at Newcastle; and, on the day following, in the presence of the Swedes, and Dutch, and English, who were assembled at the Court House, received tokens of the surrender of the whole defined territory into his hands. The next few weeks were occupied in visiting East and West New Jersey, and New York; and, before the year closed, returning to the banks of the River Delaware, he met, ‘beneath a large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern

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edge of Philadelphia,' the delegates of the Lenni Lennape tribes. 'We meet,' said he, 'on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain, for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood.' The Indians replied to him in the same spirit; and offering to him their belt of wampum, as a token of friendship, and receiving his presents in return, said, 'We will live with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure.'

The commencement of the next year saw him making yet further provision for the welfare of his Colony, by marking out, upon a neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, the foundations of its future capital,—Philadelphia. Before its first cottages were built, representatives from the six counties of the province assembled upon the spot, to organize the government, which Penn had already framed in England. It was essentially,—and, but for the fact that the office of Proprietor remained hereditary,—would have been entirely, democratic. The equity, and wisdom, and gentleness with which Penn administered the affairs of his infant Colony, were requited by its speedy advance-

ment; and, having witnessed the first evidences of its prosperity, he left his farewell blessing with his people, and returned, for a time, to England. James the Second had then just ascended the throne; and, in all the strifes of his short, but troublous, reign, Penn was still, as he ever had been, the enemy of persecution, the friend of justice and humanity. The intimacy which had existed between James and his father, joined to the influence of his own character, gave him much interest at Court, and he exerted it heartily for the relief of his suffering brethren. Many hundred Quakers, in Scotland and in England, were released from prison, by his intercession. His gates were crowded with other suppliants who looked for like help; and he did not reject any. Even Locke was enabled to say, in his voluntary exile, that, had he chosen to return home, the means of doing so had been secured by the successful influence of Penn. And, further still, although he was an advocate for the dispensing power which James sought to establish,—believing it to be only for the purpose of securing universal liberty in religion, and not seeing the sinister ends promoted by it,—yet he strongly disapproved of the act by which the seven Bishops, who refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, were committed to the Tower, and pressed the King for their release¹³³. His favour

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¹³³ Bancroft (ii. 397) has tried to convict Mackintosh of error, for having said, (p. 171.) that Penn 'lent himself to the measures of the King;' and, with that view, has cited a passage from Lawton's Memoir of Penn, which shows Penn an advocate for the release of the Bishops from imprisonment. But, if the accom-

with the King, and his avowed sympathy with those measures, 'of which the success,' the historian truly states, 'would have undone his country'¹³⁴; brought upon him a large share of the hatred which the exasperated nation felt against all the abettors of them. The name of Papist, Jesuit in disguise, infidel, traitor, were forthwith affixed to him; and Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, was so far led to believe the justice of the clamour against Penn, that the latter wrote a letter to him, vindicating himself from the charge. The vindication was acknowledged by Tillotson to be complete; and his prompt and candid testimony to that effect, is one of the few instances which we meet with of a cheering character, in that day of bitter controversy¹³⁵.

The Revolution brought with it fresh trials to Penn. Within two years from that event, he was imprisoned thrice; the rights of his proprietorship in the Colony which he had founded were set aside by a royal commission; and it was not until 1694, that he succeeded in obtaining a Patent for its restoration. "Poverty," also, came upon him "like an armed man"¹³⁶; and detention for his debts hindered him, for a time, from resuming in Pennsylvania the personal exercise of his duties which

plished historian of the United States will refer to Mackintosh again, he will find that writer guiltless of the error ascribed to him. The share which Penn had in the measures of the King, and of which alone Mackintosh speaks in the passage above cited, was his ad-

vocacy of the King's dispensing power;—a fact, of which there can be no doubt.

¹³⁴ Mackintosh's History of the Revolution, 171.

¹³⁵ Birch's Life of Tillotson, 133, 134.

¹³⁶ Prov. vi. 11.

there awaited him. At length, when the seventeenth century was just closing, he reached the Colony once more; and employed his time in strengthening the frame of government which he had before established, and in removing, as far as he could, the jealousies which had sprung up, in the provinces adjoining his territory, and at home. The apprehension, however, which he felt, that a regal government might supersede his own, again forced him to return to England, at the end of the year 1701; and he left it no more. In 1712, sickness overtook him, whilst he was still engaged in schemes for the welfare of his Colony; and, although he was compelled, from that time, to relinquish the active superintendence of its affairs, yet six more years elapsed ere his memorable career in this world had ended¹³⁷.

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Turning our attention now from William Penn to the Colony of which he was founder, it is necessary to observe that several causes of disturbance, both from without and within, had existed, and gradually been gathering strength, from the outset. Of the former, the dispute with Lord Baltimore as to the boundaries of their respective Colonies, was the

¹³⁷ The authorities which have been consulted in the above notice of Penn, are, his *Life* in the *Biographia Britannica*; his own *Works*, 2 vols. fol., *passim*; Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, *passim*; Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, ii. 156—431; Chalmers, 630—667; and Bancroft, ii. 336—402. The statements of these two last writers may fairly be left to balance each

other; the former scarcely ever recognizing any act of Penn as worthy of praise; and the latter extolling not only all his acts, but all the principles of Quakerism, in such extravagant terms of panegyric, that the only wonder is to find that the eloquent and ardent eulogist is not himself a Quaker.

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most conspicuous; and all the address, which Penn displayed in his intercourse with that nobleman, did not succeed in obtaining a satisfactory adjustment. Another, touching the specific rights of Delaware, was only terminated by conceding to the latter province the rights and privileges of self-government. Of the internal causes of division, the chief one is to be found in the fact, that, whilst the government of his province was democratic, Penn retained, in his own person, all the power of a feudal sovereign; and the provincial Council and Assembly, as soon as they were relieved from the restraint of his presence, were easily drawn into quarrels touching their respective rights. With respect to slaves, Penn showed, upon his second visit to the province, an earnest desire to ameliorate their condition, but could not succeed in accomplishing all his wishes. The lawfulness of slavery, he admitted, and felt no hesitation in exacting the forced service of the poor negro. He lived and died a slave-holder; and the law, passed under his authority, respecting slaves, held them, after fourteen years of servitude, still fast bound as adscripts to the soil¹²³. How far such conduct was consistent with the letter of those principles, which he and his brethren professed themselves so zealous to maintain, is a question which it would be difficult to answer in the affirmative. And, if inconsistency between profession and practice be a noxious seed, which must ever bring forth fruit

¹²³ See the authorities quoted by Bancroft, ii. 401.

after its own kind, it is obvious that herein existed a fresh element of future evil. Another source of trouble in the Colony is found in the divisions which arose among some of the Quakers there, of whom George Keith was the chief leader. He had long been a distinguished advocate of their doctrines, and was held high in repute among their body. To find him, therefore, now starting up in the midst of them as their accuser, denying their authority, and declaring that the attempt to exercise it, as they did, was the sin of apostasy, spread no small confusion and alarm through their ranks. The ministers of the Society publicly disowned Keith, at a meeting which they held in April, 1692; and, when he appealed from them to the yearly meeting of the Society in London, his denial was there finally confirmed. He now became the avowed and open adversary of his former brethren; and, when he entered, soon afterwards, into communion with our own Church, and became one of her ordained ministers, their grief and indignation knew no bounds. The basest motives were imputed to him; the most opprobrious terms of reproach heaped upon him; and, to this day, the impression seems to remain in the mind of every writer who sympathizes with the Society of Friends, that Keith, in departing from their body, was guilty of a sin never to be forgiven¹³⁹.

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¹³⁹ Proud, i. 363—376; Sewel, ii. 235—438. The position of these writers may account, in some degree, for their unfavourable representations of Keith; but Bancroft cannot plead their excuse, when he says of Keith, most unjustly, that, 'being left without a faction, and tired of his position, he made a true exposition of the strife, by accepting an Episcopal benefice,' iii. 87.

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I believe that they have done Keith wrong, in this respect, and am prepared to show the grounds of my belief. The services which he rendered, as one of the earliest missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, will give me the opportunity of doing this more conveniently than can be done at present; and to that part of the history,—which will necessarily involve the discussion of the relations between the Quakers and ourselves,—the further consideration of the matter must be deferred. I will only observe, in this place, that, with all our admiration of the character and conduct of William Penn, and with the sincerest respect for many members of the same Society who are still found walking in his steps, it is impossible for those faithful members of the Church, who believe that ‘The Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;’ that the ‘Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession, but rather certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God’s good-will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and quicken our faith in him;’ and that ‘it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same¹¹⁰;’ it is impossible, I say, for such men not always to view with deepest pain and sorrow

¹¹⁰ Articles VI. XXV. XXIII.

the manner in which these solemn verities are impugned, and the practical conclusions resulting from them set at nought, by the appeal which the Quaker makes to the Inner Light.

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I have already said that Bishop Compton had obtained authority, under the Pennsylvanian Charter, to send a clergyman to that province, whensoever twenty persons should invite him thither. This authority was neither arrogantly claimed by Compton, nor grudgingly conceded by Penn. It was a just demand, freely and readily acknowledged. Indeed, the communications, which passed between them, upon this and other subjects connected with the settlement, appear to have been marked by mutual kindness; and the wise and humane policy of Penn, in obtaining his land from the natives by purchase, is said to have been owing to the direct recommendation of the Bishop himself¹⁴¹. In 1695, the first place of worship, belonging to the Church of England, was built in Philadelphia, and the Rev. Mr. Clayton was appointed, in the same year, its minister¹⁴². In 1700, the Rev. Evan Evans was

¹⁴¹ Thus writes Chalmers, 644: 'Agreeably to the counsel of the good Bishop of London to buy the natives' land, Penn immediately entered into treaty with the Indians, from whom he purchased as much of the soil as the circumstances of the case required, for a price that seems to have given satisfaction, and with whom he settled a very kind correspondence. This policy, equally humane and wise, not only long ensured an advantageous peace to the province, but has conferred undiminished celebrity on his name, while the adviser of it has been hitherto either unknown or forgotten.'

¹⁴² Dorr's History, quoted in Hawkins' Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church in England, &c. p. 107. Dorr's statement is borne out by Bray himself (Life, &c. p. 9), and therefore convicts Humphreys of inaccuracy, who says that there was no English

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sent out by Bishop Compton, and not only gathered a large congregation in Philadelphia, but was most diligent and successful in his ministrations in many other parts of the province¹⁴³.

NEW YORK. Passing on now to the province which adjoins Pennsylvania on the north,—and the original settlement of which by the Dutch has been already noticed¹⁴⁴,—we find that it surrendered to the English under Colonel Nichols, in 1664. The name of its chief city, hitherto called New Amsterdam, was then changed to that of New York, and the name of Fort Orange to that of Albany,—both titles having been given in honour of the Duke of York and Albany, to whom the King his brother had granted that extensive territory. The treaty of Breda, in 1667, confirmed the English in the possession of it, and also the possession of Surinam to the Dutch. In the war which again broke out between the two countries, in 1673, New York surrendered, in its turn, to a Dutch squadron, which had been fitted out against the English Colonies in America; but, by the articles of peace agreed to in the following year, it reverted once more to the Duke of York, who,—in order to remove some

minister in Philadelphia until 1700, when Mr. Evans came. Historical Account of the Incorporated Society, &c. p. 146.

¹⁴³ I cannot describe these at present, because the time to which they refer is beyond the limits which I have here prescribed to myself. But I gladly refer those who desire to know more respect-

ing them, to the sixth chapter of the valuable Historical Notices, &c., lately published by Mr. Hawkins, the indefatigable Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. See also Appendix to this Volume, No. V.

¹⁴⁴ Vol. i. c. ix. ad fin.; and p. 402 *ante*.

doubts which had, in the mean time, arisen respecting the validity of his title,—obtained a new Patent from the King, and appointed Major Andros his governor in the province¹⁴⁵. Discontents speedily broke out among its people, the weight of which fell chiefly upon Andros; and,—although some ascribe this odium to the tyrannous nature of the constitution which he was commanded to uphold, rather than to his own fault¹⁴⁶,—his conduct elsewhere gives too much reason to believe, that, for a large share of the evils, he must be held responsible. Upon his departure, in 1682, and, under his successor, Dongan, some influence in the Legislative power of the Colony was at length granted to its inhabitants, by the constitution of an Assembly; and, soon afterwards, the same governor succeeded in making a treaty of peace with the Five Nations of Indians, who, under the name of Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas, had long been known as the implacable enemies of the Adirondacks,—another most powerful native tribe,—and of the French, who, under Champlain, had made alliance with the latter. The ravages, which these Five Nations had been for some time spreading throughout North America, had made them an object of just alarm to all the English plantations; and it was no slight temporal advantage, therefore, secured at this time to New York, that such

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¹⁴⁵ Holmes's Annals, i. 325—¹⁴⁶ Chalmers, 581, 582.
351; Chalmers, 567—580.

formidable foes should be converted into firm allies.

Upon the accession of her Proprietor to the throne of England, New York felicitated herself in the prospect of increased prosperity; but was doomed to be disappointed. The privileges, for which she had already justly obtained a Patent, and which only required some further ratification to be completed, were not only not secured, but others, which she had before enjoyed, were withdrawn. The governor and council were alone empowered to continue former taxes, and to impose new ones; the use of the printing-press was forbidden; no power of appeal was left open to her people; she was treated, in fact, as a conquered province. But the measure of her indignities was not yet full. In order to form a barrier against the encroachments of the French in Canada, James united her to New England, of which Andros (now Sir Edmund) had already been for two years governor, exercising again most arbitrary powers which the Crown had delegated to him. The existence, therefore, of New York as a separate province was at an end, and, with it, the commission of her ruler, Dongan. A new commission was issued, in 1688, annexing New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of the four Colonies of New England, and appointing Andros captain-general over the whole, who named Francis Nicholson his lieutenant.

The consequences of this oppressive rule were speedily made manifest. In Boston, the people rose

up in arms, and cast Andros into prison. In New York, the insurgents, at whose head was a man named Jacob Leisler, seized the fortress; and, although William and Mary were afterwards proclaimed amid the joyal acclamations of the people, Leisler still ruled at the head of a Committee of Safety. Enamoured of power, he coveted its longer possession; refused to surrender the fortress, when summoned to do so by the governor, who came out under the authority of the Crown in 1691; and, for that act, was tried and executed¹⁴⁷.

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Observing, then, these incidents in the early history of New York, we cannot be surprised at reading in Humphreys, that 'no face of the Church of England' was seen there, until the year 1693. In that year, under the government of Colonel Fletcher, an Act was passed for maintaining ministers of our Church, who were to be chosen by the respective vestries. In 1696, Trinity Church, then said to be 'the finest Church in North America,' was built; and Mr. Vesey, a layman, and held in highest estimation by all ranks of people, was chosen by the governor and vestry, and recommended to the Bishop of London for ordination, with the view of undertaking its charge. The Bishop had no difficulty in ratifying this choice; and Mr. Vesey amply justified the wisdom of it, by the fidelity and success with which he pursued his ministrations. Humphreys, for instance, who published his Historical Account in 1730, speaks of him as

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 585—594.

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then alive, quotes a most remarkable testimony in his favour from Colonel Heathcote, and adds that the rapid increase of the members of our Church in New York was mainly owing to Mr. Vesey, 'who, by his whole conduct, had gained the esteem of people of many sorts of persuasions.' Keith, likewise, in the Report of his first Missionary Tour in 1702, states that, at New York, there was 'a brave Congregation of people belonging to the Church, as well as a very fine fabric;' and that Mr. Vesey 'was very much esteemed and loved, both for his ministry and good life;' a commendation, which Keith applies also to the other clergy whom he then visited at Boston, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia. In 1698, another Act was passed by the Assembly of New York, enabling the different towns within its territory to build Churches; the provisions of which were enforced, soon after the appointment of Lord Cornbury to the government, in 1701¹⁴⁸.

NEW
JERSEY.

New Jersey, the next province which lies in our way between Pennsylvania and New York, was, like the adjoining settlements, peopled in earlier years by successive emigrations from Holland, Sweden, and Finland. In June, 1664, it was separated from the New Netherlands which Charles had granted, a few months before, to the Duke of York, and sold by the Duke to Lord Berkely and Sir George Carteret (both proprietors of Carolina), under the name of Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey. The latter name

¹⁴⁸ Humphreys, 201—204; Hawkins, 32.

was given to it in compliment to Carteret, whose family came from the Isle of Jersey. The Proprietors appointed Philip Carteret governor; and, in 1676, the province was divided into East and West Jersey. The manner in which these moieties passed, at different times, into the hands of the Quakers by purchase, has been already mentioned; and the severities, inflicted at the same period upon the Scotch Covenanters, to which reference has been also made before ¹⁴⁹, led the latter to emigrate in large bodies to East Jersey. Hence, the whole territory was either under Presbyterian, or Quaker, influence; no avenue was left, through which the ministrations of the Church of England could reach any portion of its inhabitants; and Bray, consequently, in his Memorial, describes them as being wholly 'left to themselves, without priest or altar.' Early in the reign of Queen Anne, indeed, the Proprietary Government of West Jersey was resigned to that sovereign, who united it with East Jersey under one jurisdiction; and St. Mary's Church was built in Burlington, and Divine Service there celebrated, for the first time, on Whit-Sunday in 1704 ¹⁵⁰. But these, as well as many other points of interest connected with the subsequent history of the Church in New Jersey, fall beyond the limits of this Volume; and the further consideration of them, therefore, must be deferred ¹⁵¹.

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¹⁴⁹ Seep. 644, and 460, *ante*.

¹⁵⁰ Smith's History of New Jersey; Holmes's Annals in loc.; and Humphreys, 180—183.

¹⁵¹ If the reader would desire to be acquainted with them at once, I gladly refer him to the seventh chapter of Hawkins' Historical

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The NEW
ENGLAND
Colonies.

Of the New England Colonies,—by which I understand not only those of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, which formed a confederate union with Massachusetts in 1643¹⁵², but also Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island—an account has already been given in the sixteenth chapter. A review was there made of the history of all of them from the beginning of the reign of Charles I. to the beginning of that of Charles II. And, in the case of New Hampshire and Maine, as well as in the relation of Eliot's ministry, in Massachusetts, it was brought down to a still later period. Some further notices of these Colonies have also necessarily occurred in the account just given of New York, and other adjoining provinces. It only remains, therefore, to glance at those prominent points in their subsequent history which may help us in our present enquiry.

Our thoughts naturally turn, in the first place, to Eliot and his villages of 'praying Indians.' And here, we find that the outbreak of Philip's war had made most of them desolate. His original name, as the Sachem of Pokanoket, was Metacom; and the name and title of King Philip had been conferred upon him,—not as a Baptismal name, for he ever remained a foe to Christianity, but—as a designation of honour, granted, at his own request, by the Council of Plymouth, at the time of his renewing with them, in 1672, the friendly league which the

Notices, and the Sixth Sermon Bishop of New Jersey, Dr. Doane.
(with Appendix) of the present ¹⁵² See p. 357 *ante*.

first emigrants had made with his father Massasoit. The real cause of the hostilities, which broke out soon afterwards, was his jealousy at the gradual intrusion of the English upon the lands which the red man had always looked upon as his own. The mock process of a sale, through which these vast tracts passed away, served but to perplex and irritate him all the more. And, whilst he and his seven hundred warriors were thus brooding over their wrongs, the word came that they should submit to further exactions, and surrender their English arms. Resistance followed; blood was shed; the so-called rebels were tried and hanged; and instantly their brethren started up to avenge their deaths. The Indians of the Narragansett country joined them; and a fearful conflict followed, not, indeed, of army against army in open field,—for that was not the warfare which the Indian chose to wage,—but a ceaseless renewal of surprises and assaults, massacres, scalpings, burnings; no labourer in the field, no traveller by the way-side, was safe; at any moment, a shot from an unseen marksman might lay him low; and pursuit was hopeless. For a whole year, the towns and villages of New England were thus kept in constant terror. At length, their armed men went forth, amid snows and tempests, to crush the harassing foe; they reached the clustering cabins of the Narragansett tribes; broke down the barriers; scattered, after a murderous fight, the remnant of their warriors; and then left the flames to consume their children, and women, and helpless

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old men. It was impossible that such a war could last much longer. The Indians became worn out with cold, and hunger, and losses, and intestine feuds. Many submitted; others fled; the rest, broken-hearted and spiritless, courted their fate, whether it were death or bondage. Nevertheless, King Philip would not yield; and, when a warrior proposed peace, he struck him dead. At length, having been hunted from place to place, and overwhelmed with grief at the capture of his wife and only son, he fell by the hand of one of his own followers¹⁵³.

The Witch-
craft delu-
sion.

But the history of Philip's war, and of others waged afterwards with the Indian tribes of the North and East, does not present so dark a page in the annals of New England as that of the witchcraft delusion, which prevailed chiefly from 1688 to 1693. Four persons, indeed, had suffered death for witchcraft in Massachusetts, in 1645; and three more, upon the same charge, in Connecticut, in 1662. Other strange instances also of demoniacal influence, occurring in later years, are described by Cotton Mather, with the unquestioning conviction on his part that they were all true. But the most appalling exhibitions of imposture and superstitious terror were manifested at Boston, in 1688, and, at Salem, in 1692. In the former place, four children of a man named John Godwin were said to have been bewitched by a woman, whose name was Glover, and whose daughter, being a laundress, had been accused.

¹⁵³ "Hubbard's Narrative of the England," in *loc.*; Neal's *New Troubles with the Indians in New England*, ii. 376—406.

by the eldest of Godwin's children, of having stolen some linen. The frightful contortions and convulsions of these children; their loss of sight, and hearing, and speech; their piteous outcries, on account of sharp wounds and heavy blows said to be inflicted upon them; their barking at one another like dogs, and then purring like so many cats; their panting with heat, as though a fiery oven were scorching them, and then shivering with cold, as though streams of water were poured upon them; were all alleged to be the signs of the old hag's power over them. The ministers of Boston and Charleston believed thoroughly that all this was the work of Satanic agency; and, that, by virtue of a compact made between Satan and the witch, imps or familiar spirits were delivered over to her to do her bidding. Cotton Mather took the eldest of the children into his house; and her proceedings confirmed him in the belief that she was thus possessed. He and his brethren fasted and prayed, that the plague might cease. The woman was apprehended and tried. She gloried in the power which she claimed, and which the terrified people ascribed to her. Images made of rags, and stuffed with goats' hair, were found in her house, and produced in court; and, as soon as she touched one of these with her hand, the children, who were present, fell into fits. Physicians examined her, and pronounced her sane; and sentence of death was passed upon her. At Salem, in 1691, the objects of witchcraft malice were the daughter and niece of Parris, the

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minister of the place. Their sufferings were said to be the same with those of Godwin's children, and Tituba, the wife of an Indian man-servant, was the agent through which they were inflicted. Others of maturer age soon experienced like torments; and in their fits, cried out upon Tituba, and two others associated with her, saying that they, or their spectres, were the authors of all their miseries. The belief in a supernatural agency at that time was general; and, therefore, the prayers of ministers and people were urgently renewed to obtain the interposition of Heavenly power as a defence against these assaults of the Evil One. The infection spread rapidly. Fresh stories were invented; and others already known were circulated anew in an exaggerated form. Those who disbelieved the power of witchcraft were committed to prison, as well as those who confessed that they were instruments to wield its power. Cotton Mather and his brethren triumphed in these efforts,—successful, as they thought,—to put down ‘the most nefarious treason against the Majesty on high!’ Witnesses, juries, judges, shared their enthusiasm. The whole people rushed madly on with them in a crusade against the formidable foe. Informers of all kinds were listened to with eager credulity; and the jails were filled with men and women thus hunted down by the clamour of the panic-stricken multitude. Of twenty-eight, who were capitally convicted, nineteen were hanged; fifty-five others were tortured into false confessions; one, who refused to plead, was absolutely

pressed to death; and still the prison-doors were opened to receive fresh victims. A hundred and fifty had already been lodged within them; charges were presented before the magistrates against two hundred more. Even the brute creation were charged with being agents in the bewitching process: and a dog was killed, because it was said to have had power to throw into fits those upon whom it looked. It was impossible to know where this extravagance would end. At length, charges of witchcraft, brought against the wife of Sir William Phipps, who was then governor, and some relatives of Increase Mather, one of the most influential ministers in Massachusetts,—not only opened their eyes, but those of others also, to the delusion that had been practised against them; and, when a similar accusation was brought, soon afterwards, against a citizen of Boston, he forthwith retorted upon his accusers, and charged them with defamation. From that hour, the phrenzy subsided. Mather and his brethren were still the advocates of continued severity; but, in vain. The prisoners were let loose; many of the witnesses against them freely retracted their testimony, and confessed the falsehood of that to which they had sworn: jurymen, in like manner, repented of their wrongful verdicts, and judges of their sentences: if any fresh informer ventured to tell a new story of bewitchment, he was as much scouted, as before he would have been eagerly welcomed: and Parris, who had been foremost in exciting the fears and indignation of the people, was, notwithstanding his public

confession of error, and prayer for pardon, compelled to give up his ministerial charge and quit Salem¹⁵⁴.

The contemplation of such scenes of human wickedness and weakness is most humiliating. But whilst we are thankful in the assurance of our freedom from the exciting causes of a superstitious and false belief which led to these exhibitions we ought to pause, before we pass a sweeping sentence of condemnation against all who bore a part in them. It should be remembered, that, although witchcraft is justly believed to exist no longer,—especially in that supposed form of it which our laws once condemned,—yet to say that it neither can, nor ever did, exist, is to contradict the plainest testimony of Holy Scripture¹⁵⁵. It should be remembered also that the laws of our country formerly made this offence punishable with death, and that the mass of our countrymen, as well as all the nations of Europe, believed in the justice of such laws: that the annual Sermon, in commemoration of the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign

¹⁵⁴ Mather's Magn. B. vi. c. vii.; Neal, ii. c. xii.

¹⁵⁵ Exod. xxii. 18. Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6. 27. Deut. xviii. 10, 11.—Blackstone truly and unreservedly acknowledges this fact (i. 264. Stephen's Ed.), and Judge Story, noticing the terms of his acknowledgment, speaks of it as having reference to a 'matter of controversial divinity, with which he will not meddle.' (Miscellane-

ous Writings, 81.) It would have been more in accordance, I think, with the usual candour of that great and learned man, if, instead of attempting to put aside as controversial what cannot be really controverted, he had admitted with Grahame (i. 392), that whilst Scripture assures us, that 'witchcraft did once operate in the world, no equal authority has ever proved it to be extinguished.'

of Elizabeth, was still preached at Huntingdon, in Dr. Johnson's time; that the statutes of Henry VIII. and James I. declared witchcraft to be felony, without benefit of clergy; that the latter sovereign testified, by the publication of his Dialogues of Dæmonologie, his belief in its existence; that, upon the strength of a doctrine thus 'established at once by law and by fashion,' and in accordance with histories then generally received as true, Shakspeare founded one of his most celebrated plays, and drew scenes of mysterious enchantment, which both he and his audience looked upon as 'awful and affecting'¹⁵⁶; that Bishop Hall, one of the most shining lights of that same age, although he doubted not but that many frauds were mixed up with witchcraft stories, said he could no more 'detract from the truth of all,' than 'deny that there were men living in those ages before us'¹⁵⁷; that Bacon did not think it beneath the reach of his philosophy to describe the instruments of witchcraft, and show how far they were to be trusted¹⁵⁸; that Coke, the great oracle of English law, speaks of witches as 'horrible, devilish, and wicked offenders'¹⁵⁹; that sentence of death against many of them was pronounced even by that judge, whose name, above all others, is held in grateful memory, Sir Matthew Hale¹⁶⁰; that Baxter not only wrote a preface to Cotton Mather's book,

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¹⁵⁶ Johnson's Observations on Macbeth, Works, iii. 82—85.

¹⁵⁷ Hall's Invisible World, Works, viii. 407.

¹⁵⁸ Bacon's Works, iv. 466. 490. 522.

¹⁵⁹ Coke's Inst. 3rd Part, c. vi.

¹⁶⁰ Howell's State Trials, iii. 647—702.

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when it was reprinted in London, and said there: 'This great instance comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it,'—but gave further countenance to the views of those who had believed these wild tales of witchcraft by publishing, in the next year, his tract entitled, 'Certainty of the World of Spirits' a tract which few readers, I think, would rank among his wisest or most edifying writings. Other testimonies of a like nature may be cited, proving the hold which a belief in witchcraft had upon the public mind in that day. Witness not only the grave sayings of Scriptural expositors¹⁶¹, but the materials of satire which the author of *Hudibras* derived thence¹⁶², and the touching description, given by Otway, of the

'wrinkled hag, with age grown double,
Picking dry sticks, and mumbling to herself,'

which Addison has embodied in one of his papers in the 'Spectator'¹⁶¹. The picture which Addison there gives of the puzzled cautions of Sir Roger de Coverley to the poor woman into whose hovel they entered, could only have been drawn from the life, and shows how prone the people of England were, at that time (1711), to treat with severity the *infirm* and doting creatures, whom they stigmatized as agents of witchcraft. It was not, in fact, until the

¹⁶¹ Pool's Annotations on Matt. viii. 32.

¹⁶² *Hudibras*, Part II. Canto iii. l. 140—154.

¹⁶³ No. 117. The materials of

Otway's description may be found put together in a yet more vivid form by a writer of the sixteenth century, Bodin, in his *Demonomania*, p. 136.

year 1735, that persons were forbidden by law to charge others with this offence, or to prosecute them for it ¹⁶⁴.

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The remembrance of these things, I repeat, should restrain the unqualified condemnation, which is sometimes cast upon the people of New England in this matter. But, after every abatement which such considerations may suggest, a heavy burden of reproach must still rest upon the generation which took part in so awful a series of impious and cruel acts. Some have tried to defend them by saying, that the system of charms and incantations which the people of New England found in use among the Indian powaws, was a confirmation of their own belief in witchcraft, which they brought with them from Europe ¹⁶⁵. Others have ascribed it to that extreme 'licentiousness in morals,' which prevailed in the country, after the termination of Philip's war ¹⁶⁶. But, if these were the exciting causes, they only aggravate the guilt that followed. Bancroft, indeed, in his zeal against the oppressive rule of William III., has tried to identify the present evils with that policy; saying that they broke out in the 'last year of the administration of Andros, who,

¹⁶⁴ This Act is said to have been passed on account of an old woman having been drowned at Tring, on suspicion of witchcraft. Blackstone, iv. 238, note. The last execution for witchcraft in England was in 1716, and in Scotland in 1722. The Seceders in Scotland published an Act of the Associate

Presbytery, in 1743, which was published in 1766, denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft, as a national sin. (Arnot's Trials, &c. quoted by Grahame, i. 392.)

¹⁶⁵ See pp. 381, 382, note; Grahame, i. 393.

¹⁶⁶ Neal, ii. 409.

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as the servant of arbitrary power, had no motive to dispel superstition¹⁶⁷. The absurdity of such an insinuation refutes itself. Indeed, the same writer in the context, clearly shows, that, if Andros had never set foot in the Colony, the same results would have followed; and, that, to the example of Cotton Mather, and his brethren in the ministry, is the rapid and fearful development of the mischief to be ascribed. In this last assertion, I believe that Bancroft is right. I will not repeat, indeed, his terms of censure, and say, that 'the ministers, desirous of unjust influence, could build their hope of it only in error;' that 'vanity and love of power had blinded their judgment;' and that the desire to indulge their 'ambition' led them to repress the 'alarming progress of free inquiry,' which they called 'Sadducism¹⁶⁸.' I believe that they were deceived, and not deceivers; and that not they, but the system, which had, from the outset, bound the whole Colony in the chains of a spiritual despotism, is to be blamed for the issue. Unmindful of the circumstances under which the Jewish Law had been delivered and ordered to be observed, they had made it the basis of all their legislation; and had thus presumptuously attempted to exercise the power, without possessing the authority, of a Theocracy. Whatsoever was found in the letter of the Bible, was, in the blindness of their Bibliolatry, declared to be for ever binding upon all men. Secular power, of whatsoever kind, became

¹⁶⁷ Bancroft, iii. 74.

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.* pp. 72—77

thus, from the very first, wholly subordinate to the spiritual. The ministers of religion were supreme in all things. The civil franchises of the citizens were not allowed to be enjoyed by any, save those who had been admitted to church-membership; and their rules of church-membership, we have seen, were nothing less than an impious usurpation of prerogatives which belong to God alone¹⁶⁹. This was the real cause of the evils which ensued. The administrators, and the subjects, of this unrighteous power, were alike placed in a false position by it. In the former, a lordly intolerance was engendered; in the latter, a superstitious fear. And hence, when the imaginations and passions of both became excited with the lying wonders of the wizard, no barrier was left which could restrain the cruelty of the one, or the terror of the other.

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During this period of New England's confusion and distress, a way of access was opened to the ministrations of our Church. The attempts, before made to introduce them, although in strict accordance with the terms of their Charter, had been repelled with unmitigated scorn. In addition to former evidences of this fact¹⁷⁰, I may here state, that, in 1646, a Petition was addressed to the General Court by Robert Child and others, complaining of their being deprived of the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism; praying 'that

The first Church in Boston, belonging to the Church of England.

¹⁶⁹ See pp. 337—340, *ante*.

¹⁷⁰ See pp. 311—313. 317—320. 343, *ante*.

all members of the Church of England or Scotland not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England; and threatening to appeal to Parliament, if their wishes were not granted. The Petition was, of course, refused: they who presented it were fined for seditious language; and the Court said of them, in tones of bitter insult, 'These are the champions who must represent the body of non-freemen. If this be their head, sure they have an unsavoury head, not to be seasoned with much salt'¹⁷¹.' In 1662, Charles II. trusting, doubtless, to the professions of loyalty which had been made by the people of Massachusetts, and believing that they, who had declared that his 'just title to the Crown enthronized him in their consciences, and his graciousness in their affections'¹⁷², would comply with his reasonable wishes, wrote a letter, requiring them to administer the oath of allegiance, and to dispense justice in his name; to extend also liberty to all who wished to observe the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordinances set forth in it; and to permit 'all freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, and orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church-government,' to 'have their votes in the election of all officers, both civil and military.' But such instructions were vain. The people,—whatsoever may have been their professions,—determined to govern themselves according to their own

¹⁷¹ See the authorities quoted in Greenwood's History of King's Chapel, Boston, U. S. pp. 4—8.

¹⁷² See p. 398, *ante*.

will; consenting, indeed, to pay to the King a fifth of the gold and silver ore, which their Charter required, but holding, in defiance of all the other provisions not less plainly set forth in the same document, that 'any notice of the King beyond this was only by way of civility¹⁷³.' Commissioners, therefore, were sent out, in 1664, with power to hear and determine complaints, to settle the peace and security of the country, and to enquire how far the royal instructions had been obeyed. Upon this latter point, they were charged to secure the observance of the Book of Common Prayer to all who wished it, 'without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage, it being very scandalous (said the terms of their Commission) that any persons should be debarred the exercise of their religion according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased.' These words must, indeed, have conveyed a stinging reproof, if the hearts of those to whom they were addressed had been open to conviction; but other thoughts had long since occupied them, and the words were despised. The services of our Church were celebrated before these Commissioners, as long as they continued in the province; but, as the Commission was hateful to the people of Massachusetts, so the Church could gain no favour by being associated with it¹⁷⁴. After some interval, a writ of *Quo War-*

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¹⁷³ Hutchinson, quoted by Bancroft, ii. 81.

¹⁷⁴ Holmes, i. 325. 329; Bancroft, ii. 426.

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ranto was issued against the Massachusetts Charter. In 1683, Edward Randolph, who, both before and after that time, had made many voyages to Africa, arrived in Boston, bearing the obnoxious document; and, in the following year, an end was put to the Charter. Soon after the proclamation of James II., Joseph Dudley arrived, in 1686, as the temporary royal president of Massachusetts and the northern Colonies, accompanied by Robert Ratcliffe, a clergyman of the Church of England. An application, forthwith made by him to the Council for leave to officiate in one of the three congregational meeting-houses of Boston, was refused; but liberty was granted to celebrate Divine Service in the library of the town-house, which stood upon the site of the present City Hall.

In this room were placed a few forms and a moveable pulpit, and Ratcliffe began his ministrations preaching twice on the Sunday, administering at stated periods the Holy Sacraments, and reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays. Churchwardens were also appointed, who gathered on every Sunday evening, after the sermon, a collection for the service of the Church. Addresses were moreover forwarded to the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, craving their support in behalf of the Church, and another likewise to the Massachusetts Council, begging for permission to pass through New England with a brief and receive the free-will offerings of all who were disposed to forward the same cause. Ratcliffe's

stipend was fixed at fifty pounds a year, exclusive of the sum which the Council might think fit to settle on him; but what that was, I have not learnt. It was agreed also that Mr. Buckley, chaplain of the *Rose* frigate, which brought out Ratcliffe, should be at liberty to help him, if he pleased, and 'receive for his paynes 20s. a weeke.' The most important notice which I have met with relating to this matter, is the testimony given to Ratcliffe's merits by Dunton, an intelligent London bookseller, who came about the same time to Boston, and was evidently a determined enemy of the Church. Nevertheless, he thus writes: 'Parson Ratcliffe came over with the Charter, and on Lord's Days read the Common Prayer in his surplice, and preached in the town-house. Mr. Ratcliffe was an eminent preacher, and his sermons were useful and well dressed; I was once or twice to hear him, and it was noised about that Dr. Annesly's son-in-law was turned apostate. But I could easily forgive 'em, in regard the Common Prayer and the surplice were religious novelties in England.'

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Randolph had been the chief agent in effecting this introduction of the services of our Church into the stronghold of Congregationalism. He had often addressed the Bishop of London upon the subject, in former years, begging him, in pity to their condition, to send over 'a sober, discreet' clergyman, and assuring him that he would be kindly received, and, if the King's laws were of force among them, receive a sufficient maintenance. In order to

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prove this, he had proposed to apply a part of the money, then sent over from England for the benefit of the Indians, saying that it was not expended for its original purpose. No proof, however, of the truth of such a charge exists; and the suggestion, to divert from their proper channel the sums so raised, is therefore as little to be justified as another, wherein he proposed that the three meeting-houses in Boston should contribute a small payment towards defraying the Church charges. Such counsels could only bring deserved shame upon their author, and aggravate those difficulties of the Church which he sought to remove.

Before the year 1686 reached its close, Andros arrived; and he, by his arbitrary acts, aggravated her difficulties yet more. Finding that he could not obtain, by fair means, the loan of any one of the meeting-houses in Boston, for the celebration of our services, he sent Randolph, early in the following year, for the keys of the South meeting-house; and, although assured by Judge Sewall and others, that the building belonged to them, and that they were not willing to lend it for such an object, insisted, nevertheless, that the door should be opened, and the bell rung for Divine Service on the following Friday (Good Friday). His might constituted his sole right to issue, and enforce, such an order. The people yielded; and, for nearly two years, the building continued to be used as a place of worship, at one hour of the day, by members of the Church of England, and, at another, by those who had origin-

ally erected it. Meanwhile, ground was obtained elsewhere,—the site, upon which now stands King's Chapel,—a wooden Church built upon it, and Divine Service celebrated therein, for the first time, in June, 1689. Ratcliffe also, and his assistant, Mr. Clark, struggled on, as they best could; but it was a hard task to exhibit the ministrations of the Church in their proper aspect, whilst the acts of her temporal rulers were so tyrannical. A limit was at length put to the people's endurance of them; the tidings of the revolution in England induced, as we have seen ¹⁷⁵, resistance; Andros, Randolph, and others were imprisoned, and, in the following year, sent home. Ratcliffe had preceded them, by a short interval, disheartened, no doubt, by the misrule which he was doomed to witness, and could not avert. He did not, however, leave his post, until a successor, Mr. Myles, had been appointed to it; and both of them, it is said, were present at the opening of the new Church. Myles continued to labour there until 1692, when he went home to obtain help for his people. During his absence, his duties were carried on by two clergymen, named Smith and Hatton, the latter of whom proceeded afterwards to Providence in the Bahamas. Upon Myles's return, in 1696, he brought with him many evidences of the sympathy, which existed in the highest quarters at home, with him and his brethren across the Atlantic. Valuable articles of Church furniture, with a Bible and Books of Common

¹⁷⁵ See p. 661, *ante*.

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Prayer, (promised by Queen Mary, and, after her decease, given by her royal husband,) and copies of the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, constituted the chief offerings of which he was the bearer. In the next year, a costly service of communion plate, the gift also of William and Mary, was added; and an annuity of one hundred pounds was further granted by the King for the services of an assistant minister. In 1698, a very valuable library, called the King's library, was presented by the Bishop of London.

The history of the men appointed by the same Bishop as assistants to Mr. Myles, is a sad one. The first, Mr. Dansy, died on his passage to Boston. The second, Mr. White,—who accompanied Lord Bellamont, when he went out to succeed Sir William Phipps in the government,—was driven, with that nobleman, by stress of weather, to Barbados, and there died. The third, Mr. Bridge, fell into a misunderstanding with his superior, which produced much evil afterwards. The circumstances connected with that matter refer to a later period of the history. I will only remark, therefore, at present, that no reflection was cast thereby upon the high reputation of Myles. He was deservedly respected and beloved. In a letter of the churchwardens to Bishop Compton, in 1698, they say of him, 'He is well liked of all of us, a good liver and a painful preacher;' and this character he seems never to have forfeited¹⁷⁶. If the reader will refer to the Report,

¹⁷⁶ Greenwood, ut sup. 10—62.

already noticed, at the end of this Volume, he will find, that, besides the two above-named Clergymen at Boston, the Bishop of London sent a third, about the year 1700, to Braintree, a town a little to the South-east of the former city. I have not yet been able to ascertain any particulars respecting him or his mission.

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It is needless to tarry longer in reviewing the other Colonies of New England, at this period, for their history presents nothing further which bears upon our present subject. Rhode Island, indeed, and the Narragansett country, very soon became the scenes of most successful labour to our missionaries, and the future association of them with the name and services of Bishop Berkeley, is alone sufficient to make all English Churchmen regard them with gratitude and reverence. But, anxious as I am to enter upon the relation of Berkeley's noble efforts, I must defer it, and hasten onward.

In my former Volume, I noticed the discovery of the most northern parts of America, by the several navigators, whose names still live in those frozen regions¹⁷⁷; and I advert here again to the most celebrated of them,—namely, the land discovered by Hudson, and now belonging to the important Company which is called after him,—because it became incorporated with the English Empire, in the period which we are now reviewing. Various expeditions had been fitted out to that quarter of the globe,

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BAY.

¹⁷⁷ Vol. i. c. xii. ad init.

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since Hudson's first discovery, for the purpose of exploring it further; and, in 1668-9, Prince Rupert, —the nephew and companion in arms of the unfortunate Charles I., and still occupying the office of Privy-councillor, and a high naval command, under his restored son,—suggested that another effort of the same kind should be made. The King himself aided the expedition; the parties conducting it went out, and passed the next winter on the banks of the river which still bears the name of Rupert; and, in 1670, a royal Charter was granted to that Prince, the Duke of Albemarle, Lords Craven, Arlington, and Ashley, Mr. Portman, and others, constituting them a corporate body, under the name of Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, &c., and giving them (with the reservation of the Crown rights which we have noticed in other Charters) the exclusive right of proprietorship over the adjoining territory. It was henceforward to be reckoned as one of the English Colonies in America, and to be called Rupert's Land ¹⁷⁸.

The Moravians.

In my former reference to these regions of the frozen North, I remarked one chief point of interest which distinguished them, namely, that they are a part of that wide and arduous field of labour which has been, and still is, cultivated with such success by the Church of the United Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*, or,—to use a name by which they are still

¹⁷⁸ Anderson's History of Commerce, ii. 555, 556; Montgomery Martin's History of the Colonies, iii. 527, 528.

better known,—the Moravians. Deriving that name from the province of Austria, in which their fathers dwelt, they had, long ago, by the simplicity of their lives, and the stedfastness with which they had endured persecution for the sake of Christ, established a claim to respect and sympathy. The writings of our own Wiclif had found, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a readier welcome among them and their Bohemian brethren, than they had received in his own country. And, when the struggles of the Reformation drew on, and they had been driven away a second time from their habitations, kindly offices of love had been extended to them by the Reformers in England, not less than by those upon the continent. But the Brethren were brought down afterwards to a still lower state of worldly depression; and when, to the eye of sense, their body seemed about to be extinguished, Comenius drew up a narrative of its Order and Discipline, with a brief historical account prefixed, and transmitted it to Charles II., in the year of his restoration, accompanying it with an affectionate Address to the Church of England. The Address was received in the same spirit in which it had been written; and, soon after the elevation of Sancroft to the See of Canterbury, was specially recommended by Charles, under the hands of that Primate and Bishop Compton, ‘to all pious and compassionate Christians.’ Other like efforts were made in their behalf by Archbishops Wake and Potter, in the eighteenth century; and Acts of Parliament were also passed,

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during the same period, for their encouragement. Thus, a way was opened for the Moravians, by the Church and Legislature of this Kingdom, into those scenes of Christian enterprise, in which they have exhibited ever since their unwearied faith and love¹⁷⁹.

CAROLINA.

Before I terminate the present survey of our North American Colonies, it is necessary to revert once more to Carolina. The arrogant pretensions of its first Proprietors, their speedy failure, and the adverse influences thereby created against the Church, have been already described¹⁸⁰. We have now arrived at a period in which we find some efforts made successfully to counteract those influences. In 1680-1, a piece of land was granted in Charleston by 'Originall Jackson, and Meliscent his wife,' as a site for the erection of a building, in which the services of the Church of England were to be celebrated by 'Atkin Williamson, Cleric;' and, in the year following, a Church, of 'black cypress upon a brick foundation, large and stately, and surrounded by a neat white palisade,' was built upon it, and received the name of St. Philip¹⁸¹. Williamson dis-

¹⁷⁹ See La Trobe's Preface to Cranz's History, and Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Angliâ, pp. 6—23. The more minute account which I propose to give hereafter of some of the above facts, will allow me, I hope, the opportunity of adding those particulars touching the Order and Discipline of the Brethren, for which there is no room in this place.

¹⁸⁰ See pp. 515—529, *ante*.

¹⁸¹ Dalcho says in his History

(p. 26, note), that the locality of the ground given by Jackson and his wife is not known, and that it is doubtful whether it were in Charleston or not. And yet he says (pp. 27. 32), that the English Church, St. Philip's, was erected upon ground conveyed to Joseph Blake, Governor, in trust, for that use, and that Atkin Williamson, the clergyman named by Jackson, was its first minister. The probability, therefore, is, that the

charged the duties of his office, as long as he had strength to do so ; and, after his resignation of it,—probably about the year 1695,—continued to reside in the Colony. In consequence of a Petition from him to the General Assembly of the province, to consider his services, an Act was passed, March 1, 1710-11, granting him an annuity of thirty pounds for the remainder of his life, and stating that ‘he had grown so disabled with age, sickness, and other infirmities, that he could not any longer attend to the duties of his ministerial functions, and was so very poor that he could not maintain himself.’ Another Act was passed, of the same date, for building a new Church of brick, in place of the former, which was then falling into decay and too small for the increasing population. Parishes had been established by an Act of the Assembly in 1704.

Samuel Marshall was appointed successor to Williamson, in 1696, on the recommendation of Bishop Compton, to whose favourable notice Dr. Bray states that he had introduced him¹⁸². Another clergyman, and well-known writer of that day,—

ground on which St. Philip's stood, was that referred to in Jackson's deed of gift ; and I have ventured so to describe it.

¹⁸² The reader might think that it would have been more correct to have ascribed this statement, not to Bray, but to his biographer, for it is so recorded in his pub-

lished *Life and Designs, &c.*, p. 9. But I have before said, p. 641, note, that this book is taken from a MS. in Sion College, which is an autobiography of Bray. The author of the published work has only changed the pronoun from the first person to the third.

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Burkitt, author of the Commentary upon the New Testament,—was also instrumental in turning Mr. Marshall's mind to the new field of labour now opened in the Western World, and helped him to go out thither. Marshall amply justified the choice which had been made of him to fill this important post, and won the hearts of all ranks by his faithful and consistent ministry. The Assembly showed their sense of the value of such services, and their desire to perpetuate them, by passing, in 1698, an Act for the maintenance of a minister of the Church of England in Charleston. It appropriated to Marshall and his successors for ever the yearly salary of 150*l.*; and directed,—strangely as it may sound in our ears,—‘that a negro man and woman, and four cows and calves, be purchased for his use, and paid for out of the public treasury.’ But a point more important than any which relates to the temporal maintenance of ministers in Carolina, is the testimony borne in the above Act to the excellent character of Marshall. It is very rarely that such matters are mentioned, except in terms of conventional usage, in such documents; but, in this Act, the Assembly distinctly represent Marshall as one who, ‘by his devout and exemplary life, and good doctrine,’ had proved himself worthy of the high report made of him by the Bishop of London. A donation, also, of seventeen acres of land for the benefit of Marshall and his successors made, that same year, by Affra Coming, widow, and an affec-

tionate daughter of the Church of England, is another proof of the interest which his good services awakened in Carolina. CHAP.
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But it was the will of the great Head of the Church, that this faithful servant should not continue his work upon earth much longer. He died, in the autumn of 1699, of a malignant fever, which was fatal to many of the inhabitants of Charleston; and the Governor and Council of the province, in a letter dated January 17, 1699-1700, requesting Bishop Compton to send them another minister, thus bear witness to him: 'That fatherlike care which your Lordship hath taken to fill all the Churches in his Majesty's Plantations in America, with pious, learned, and orthodox Ministers, as well as your Lordship's application to us of that care in a more especial manner, by sending to us so eminently good a man, as our late Minister, the Rev. Mr. Marshall, deceased, encourages us to address your Lordship for such another. He, by his regular, sober, and devout life, gave no advantage to the enemies of our Church to speak ill of its Ministers: By his sound doctrine, the weak sons of our Church he confirmed: By his easy, and, as it were, the natural use of the ceremonies of our Church, took away all occasions of scandal at them: By his prudent and obliging way of living, and manner of practice, he had gained the esteem of all persons. For these reasons it is that we address you for another.'

On the 20th of June, 1700, before the time had elapsed, within which an answer to the above Address

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could have been received, a clergyman, named Edward Marston, was elected Rector of St. Philip's, by 'about thirty of the chiefest inhabitants.' This appointment, under the circumstances just mentioned, might have been regarded only as temporary; but it was meant to be, and, but for Marston's misconduct, would have been, permanent. He was afterwards ejected, for contumacious conduct, by order of Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the governor, Chief Justice Trott, and others; and Samuel Thomas, who had been sent out in 1702, by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under the sanction of Bishop Compton, to the Yammasee Indians, was appointed in his room. Marston remonstrated against this proceeding, in a violent and scurrilous pamphlet. It was not published until 1712, and therefore cannot now be noticed more particularly; but it is right to observe, that Mr. Thomas, howsoever contemptuously Marston spoke of him, was, in every respect, fitted for the post to which he was appointed. Although his career was a brief one, he has left evidence enough to prove that he was a worthy successor of Samuel Marshall¹⁸⁴.

I have before said that Bray's fostering care was extended to Carolina¹⁸⁵; and a proof of it is supplied in an Act passed by her Assembly, Nov. 16, 1700, for the preservation of a library which he and others had sent to Charleston, for the use of the Church in the province.

¹⁸⁴ Hawkins, p. 48; Humphrey, 82.

¹⁸⁵ See p. 625, *ante*.

The only further point, which I shall here notice in the history of Carolina, concerns the Huguenots. The kind sympathy which, I have already stated, invited them, in their hour of persecution, to find a shelter in that and other Colonies of England¹⁸⁶, had been, for a time, followed in Carolina by a vexatious and oppressive jealousy. They complained, consequently, to the Proprietors, that they were denied the rights of subjects, and treated only as aliens; that their marriages were pronounced void, and their children illegitimate; their estates liable to forfeiture; and the time of their celebration of Divine Worship fixed at hours which made it impossible for those to attend, who lived out of the town, and, being forced to come and go by water, could only do so as the tide served. The Proprietors sent out, in 1693, Instructions to the Governor and Deputies of Carolina, to remedy these complaints. The Article in their Charter, already noticed, granting liberty of conscience and worship to all who were not in communion with the Church of England, gave them full authority to do so; and, in fact, their treatment of the Huguenots had been a direct infraction of that Article. The temper of the Colonists caused some delay in complying with these just Instructions; but, in 1696-7, an Act was passed by the Assembly, securing to the Huguenots the privileges and immunities they desired, and to all Protestants, of whatsoever communion, liberty

¹⁸⁶ See p. 532, *ante*.

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to enjoy the exercise of their worship without hindrance, provided that they did not disturb the public peace of the province. And this is the state of things described by the Swiss writer, whose words have been before quoted ¹⁸⁷.

WEST
INDIES.

With respect to our possessions in the West Indies, I do not propose entering here into any detailed account of the circumstances affecting our Church in each of them, between the period of their history last arrived at and the present, because, in their general character, they are the same with that which has already been described ¹⁸⁸; and a more convenient opportunity may present itself hereafter, I trust, to notice any new points of interest connected with them. It may be of use, however, to state that the temporal difficulties of these Colonies, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, were aggravated, and the consequent hindrances in the way of extending to them spiritual aid multiplied, by most calamitous local visitations, and by the policy of rulers at home. In Jamaica, for instance,—not now to speak of the perils of an insurrection of negro slaves in 1684, and of the evils ascribed to the subsequent administration of the Duke of Albemarle,—an earthquake, in 1692, swallowed up the town of Port Royal, with its treasures, and three thousand of its inhabitants.

¹⁸⁷ See p. 533, *ante*. For the materials of this account of Carolina, I am indebted to Dalcho, and the authorities quoted by him (pp. 26-58), in addition to the other references which have been named.

¹⁸⁸ See pp. 478-503, *ante*.

and three thousand more perished by the frightful pestilence which followed¹⁸⁹. In Barbados, likewise, a conspiracy of the negro slaves struck terror into the hearts of the Planters; and crime brought with it its own punishment in the distress that followed. Lastly, Antigua,—although its history, during this interval, presents not any startling horrors like those just mentioned,—shared, in common with the other Islands, the evils of the war which then raged between France and England, and which made their respective possessions in that quarter of the globe the scenes of continual conflict. True, the names of Codrington, his son, and others, who bore a distinguished part in those conflicts, are enrolled in the annals of a grateful country; but the miseries, into which they were compelled to plunge, as they led their forces on to victory, were not the less real, and the consequences of them not less a hindrance to the spread of Christian truth and holiness throughout the world.

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The name of Codrington, indeed, is associated with a design directly subsidiary to the holiest purposes, namely, the establishment of the College which still bears his name in Barbados, and an account of which will occupy a prominent place in our future history. Descended from an ancient English family,—which had fought upon the King's side in the Civil War, and, after his overthrow, had settled in Barbados,—the elder Codrington had been born in

¹⁸⁹ For an authentic account of this event, see the Philosophical Transactions for 1692,

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that Island. He removed from it, in 1674, into Antigua, of which he was appointed governor in 1688. His son Christopher, who had been born to him before he left Barbados, was sent home to England to be educated; and, having earned for himself the reputation of an accomplished scholar at Christ Church, and All Souls', Oxford,—of which latter College he was elected Fellow in 1689,—entered afterwards into the army, and served both in the West Indies and at the siege of Namur. Upon the death of his father, in 1698, he was appointed by William III. to succeed him in the government of the Leeward Islands. He gave up this appointment in 1704, for what reason it does not appear, but still continued to reside in the West Indies, first, upon his estate in Antigua, and afterwards in Barbados, in which latter Island he died, in 1710. His remains were disinterred in 1716, and carried to England, and deposited in the chapel of All Souls', to which College he had bequeathed his books, and a sum of money for the erection of a library. By the same Will, he bequeathed his estates in Barbados to The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in trust, for the foundation of the College to which reference has been just made¹⁹⁰.

I have stated above, that our West India Colonies at this period, were not only sorely tried by calami-

¹⁹⁰ Antigua and the Antiguans, Barbados; and the Charges of Bishop i. 51—56. See also the account of Codrington College by (Dr. Coleridge, his excellent predecessor. Parry) the present Bishop of Bar-

tous local visitations, but also by what the Planters believed to be the unjust policy of rulers at home. I attempt not to traverse the wide field of enquiry herein opened to us; it is neither necessary for the work which I have in hand, nor, if it were, should I be competent to the task. I only quote the record of their complaints as a witness to prove the difficulties by which the several Islands were then encumbered, and the discouragement thereby given to the ministrations of our Church in each of them. The most remarkable testimony of this character is a Pamphlet, first published in 1689, entitled 'The Groans of the Plantations, or a true Account of their grievous and extreme sufferings, by the heavy impositions upon sugar, and other hardships relating more particularly to Barbados.' 'Our ingenuity is baffled,' say the authors of this Pamphlet, 'and our industry cut up by the roots: here they have us, and there they have us; and we know not which way to turn ourselves.' Again, after showing that the Plantations were 'brought to a miserable and ruinous condition,' and that they had not deserved this hard usage, considering the many and great advantages they brought to England, they ask, 'Hath our dear Mother no bowels for her children that are now at the last gasp, and lay struggling with the pangs of death? Will she do nothing to deliver us from the jaws of death? We cannot despair, but that she will yet look upon us with an eye of mercy. However we desire it may not be ill taken, that we have eased our minds by recounting our sorrows. Let

CHAP. XVIII. us not be denied the common liberty and privilege of mankind, to groan when we die. Let not our complaints seem troublesome and offensive; but be received with compassion as the groans of dying men¹⁹¹. To those of our countrymen who are connected with the West Indies at the present time, and have grievous cause to echo similar language of complaint, it may perhaps be some consolation to feel that, as these their predecessors in suffering were not finally consumed, so to themselves a day of hope and comfort may yet arrive. God grant that it arrive speedily! At all events, whilst with patient and stedfast courage they wait for it, they may be cheered by the reflection, that they have not that heavy burden of reproach hanging upon them, which weighed down those of whom we have here spoken, namely, a heartless indifference to the sufferings of the negro slave. The Pamphlet above cited betrays this indifference in its most hideous form. The Planters state one of their grievances to be, that, in consequence of the monopoly granted to the Royal African Company, they were forced to give twenty pounds for a negro, whereas formerly they could purchase them for two or 'three pounds a head in Guiney, and their freight was five pounds for every one that was *brought alive, and could go over the ship-side.*' Again, say they, 'our negroes which cost us so dear, are also extremely casual. When a man hath bought a parcel of the best and ablest he can get

¹⁹¹ Groans, &c., 11. 31.

for money, let him take all the care he can, he shall lose a full third part of them, before they ever come to do him service. When they are season'd, and used to the country, they stand much better, but to how many mischances are they still subject? If a stiller slip into a rum-cistern, it is sudden death: for it stifles in a moment. If a mill-feeder be catch't by the finger, his whole body is drawn in, and he is squees'd to pieces. If a boiler get any part into the scalding sugar, it sticks like glew, or birdlime, and 'tis hard to save either limb or life. They will quarrel and kill one another upon small occasions; by many accidents are they disabled, and become a burden: they will run away, and perhaps be never seen more, or they will hang themselves, no creature knows why. And sometimes there comes a mortality among them, which sweeps a great part of them away. When this happens, the poor Planter is in a hard condition, especially if he is still indebted for them¹⁹². Thus calmly could the Planter of that day look upon his suffering slave, regretting only his mutilated limbs or crushed carcase, as a diminution of profit to himself, a deterioration of his own living chattels. From the sin of such heartless cruelty, the present generation at least is free. A mighty ransom has been paid willingly for the liberation of the slave. A long and arduous struggle,—and oftentimes destructive of the lives of those engaged in it,—has also been main-

¹⁹² Ib. 5, 17, 18.

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tained upon the African coast, to restrain that traffic in human flesh which other nations—to their shame be it spoken!—still pursue. And, because these noble efforts have failed so frequently to attain the desired end, and distress meanwhile is hanging as a black cloud over our West Indian Colonies, there is danger,—and whilst I write these lines, it becomes daily more imminent,—lest men should regret the sacrifices which have been made, and long for a renewal of those facilities of prosecuting the slave trade by which their former prosperity was upheld. May the merciful Providence of the Almighty avert such an issue from us! Let England and her Colonies endure any thing rather than this. Straitened and pinched with poverty, outstripped by rival nations in the swift career of commercial competition, the calculations of our wise men baffled, and the hopes of the generous and good among us disappointed,—let these, and trials heavier yet than these, come. He, who permits them to assail us, can, and will, convert them into blessings, to those who receive them with a patient and cheerful spirit. But, let them not tempt any of us to swerve from the path of duty; or they may prove the shadows of our coming condemnation, our final overthrow. If, indeed, these miseries have sprung from our own folly or wickedness, let us not be ashamed to confess, and amend, the wrong. If theories of trade and fiscal legislation, howsoever wise or just they may appear to be, have cast an intolerable burden upon our West Indian Colonies,—left as they are to

compete with the still slave-holding countries of Cuba and Brazil,—let the Legislature reflect once more, ere it be too late, upon the greatness of the responsibility which rests upon them, by adhering to such a policy in all its strictness. But, be the issue of their deliberations what it may, assuredly it is not for us to forge again the chains which we have broken and struck off from the slave, or to relax, in any single quarter, that vigilance, by which we have proclaimed to the whole world our determination, God helping us, to put down the slave trade. CHAP.
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Before we close our present survey of the Western hemisphere, I would observe that the only English possessions in it, whose history we have not yet brought down to the period prescribed in this Volume, namely, the Bermudas, and Newfoundland, are described by Bray, in his Memorial, as being in a most destitute condition, at the close of the seventeenth century. In the Bermudas, he says, there was only one minister, 'and he but barely subsisted,' whilst three more were required; and, in Newfoundland, where the services of two ministers at least were needed, there was an entire absence of all spiritual ordinances. It is impossible that more striking testimony can be found, to prove the fatal power of those evil influences which had so long been brought to bear upon these Islands ¹⁹³.

Turning our attention now to the opposite quarter INDIA. of the globe, we find the thoughts and prayers of

¹⁹³ Bray's Memorial, pp. 11, 12. See also Vol. i. c. xi. ad fin.; and pp. 537—542, *ante*.

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faithful members of our Church directed to the duty of making the existence of our power in India a means of spiritual health unto her people. The difficulties, which originally existed in the way of accomplishing that object¹⁰⁴, had not been diminished by later events. Our possessions in that country remained substantially the same as they were when we last noticed them. In Bengal, they were still upon a very precarious footing. Fort St. George, or Madras, was established as a Presidency for the government of the Eastern coast, after Bantam, its former site, had been captured by the Dutch. In 1686, the seat of the Western government was transferred from Surat to Bombay; and, in the following year, the latter settlement was made a Regency, and invested with supreme power over all the others belonging to the Company; and, about two years later, Tegnapatam,—a little to the south of Pondicherry, which the French had just acquired,—was purchased, and fortified, and called Fort St. David. Meanwhile, the affairs of the Company became most embarrassing; their debts were already great; other adventurers to the East were clamouring for a dissolution of their monopoly; and Parliament favoured the views of the assailants. The consequence of this was, that, in 1698, a Charter was granted by William III. for the incorporation of a second East India Company, under the name of the English Company; the old, or London Company, being still permitted

¹⁰⁴ See pp. 267—271, *ante*.

to trade along with them for three years. Nothing could of course be conceived more fatal to the success of any righteous enterprise in India, than the rivalry of two such Companies, seeking to supplant, and defame, and obstruct one another, as they were necessarily tempted to do. It portended destruction also to themselves; and, being soon driven therefore to adjust their mutual differences, an arrangement for their union, upon certain conditions agreed upon by both, was proposed, towards the end of William's reign, and ratified, soon after the accession of Anne; by virtue of which, their former Charters were agreed to be surrendered, after a certain time, and the New Company was henceforth to carry on their operations under the title of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' Some differences, indeed, between them still remained, and were not settled until 1711, when Lord Godolphin, then Lord High Treasurer of England, gave his final award¹⁹⁵.

Whilst these perplexing changes were in progress, the high and holy duties incumbent upon England, whose sons were thus striving to set up her dominion in the East, were not forgotten. Foremost among those who, mindful of such duties themselves, strove to lead others to observe them, were Robert Boyle,

¹⁹⁵ Bruce, ii. 502—591. iii. 81. United Company,' &c., remained 258; Anderson's History, &c., in until 3 and 4 Wm. 4, c. 85, s. 3, Macpherson's Annals, ii. 694— which enacted that in all transactions whatsoever, the Company 700; Mill's British India, B. i. may be called 'The East India c. v. The Law relating to India, Company.' &c., pp. 1—12. The title of 'The

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of whose generous spirit I have before made mention ¹⁸⁶, and Humphrey Prideaux, then Prebendary, and afterwards Dean, of Norwich, and author of that most valuable work, 'The Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament.' Boyle, from an early period, had been a member of the East India Committee,—his assistance having been sought for, on account of the benefit which, it was believed, his extensive scientific knowledge would give in respect of the products imported from the East. He had, from the first, sought to stimulate the Company 'to promote the honour and worship of God, by the conversion of those poor infidels in those places, where, by His blessing, they had so much advanced their worldly interest;' and, having failed in that attempt, wrote, in 1677, to Fell, Bishop of Oxford, proposing to have the Malayan Gospels reprinted at Oxford from the Dutch copy which he sent for that purpose. Fell consulted Dr. Marshall, the Rector of Lincoln College, and Prideaux, then Student and Tutor of Christ Church, upon the subject. The book was published at Boyle's expense, with a preface written by Marshall. Prideaux, indeed, did not think the publication likely to be useful, and adduces good reasons for that opinion, in a letter which he addressed, several years later, (1694-5,) to Archbishop Tenison. Nevertheless, the impression made upon his mind, at that early period of his life,—for he had not attained the age of twenty-nine years, when this

¹⁸⁶ See pp. 296. 386—391.

proposition from Boyle was submitted to him,—was never afterwards effaced. He read carefully, in the midst of his own unremitting duties, the pamphlets of the day, put forth by Sir Josiah Child and others, against the various assailants of the East India Company, and observed, that, according to their own showing, not less than a million of the natives of India were then subject to English rule; that, among these, the Mahommedans had their mosques, the Jews their synagogues, the Hindus their pagodas, the Portuguese their Churches and bands of Roman Catholic clergy; that the Dutch Presbyterians also maintained in India thirty or forty ministers, for the express purpose of bringing the natives to the knowledge of the Christian Faith; that they provided all their factories and ships with ministers, and, in Ceylon, had erected a College, and printed Bibles, Catechisms, and other books, in the Malay and Indian dialects, for the benefit of the eighty thousand converted Indians, who were there enrolled, and others; that the English, on the other hand, had no place specifically set apart for public worship, save the solitary Church at Madras, which Streynsham Master, the governor, had built without any help from the Company¹⁹⁷; that, although English Chaplains were maintained at Surat, Angola, Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David, their allowances were so small, and their treatment so harsh, that little service could be rendered by them; that the

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¹⁹⁷ See pp. 470. 534, *ante*.

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English ships were, 'for the most part, without prayers, preaching, or sacraments, seldom having any Chaplain on board, except' such as were passing to, or from, the East; and that the inhabitants of St. Helena, amounting to several hundreds, being left without any Christian ordinance, had 'degenerated to that degree of barbarity, as to be reckoned the vilest and most wicked of any our shipping meet with in their whole voyage to the Indies'¹⁸⁸. Pridaux published, early in 1694-5, an Account of the English Settlements in India, embodying these statements, and proposing, as a correction of these frightful evils, that Churches and Schools should be erected at Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David, for the instruction and edification of the natives in their own language; that men of piety and of prudence should be found out and encouraged to undertake the work; that a Seminary should be established in England for the training of persons to supply the future wants of the mission; that care should be 'taken only to elect such for this purpose, whose temper, parts, and inclinations, may promise them to be most capable of being fitted for it;' that natives also should be brought from India, and be educated in England, for the further prosecution of the work, and that they should be chosen chiefly out of such of the Christians of Malabar as were not in communion with, or influenced by, the Roman

¹⁸⁸ One Chaplain had been appointed to St. Helena, in 1675, and two more went out,—in 1698 and 1700,—probably in consequence of this appeal of Pridaux. See Appendix, No. III.

Catholic Portuguese as Goa; that, as soon as circumstances permitted, a Bishop should be settled at Madras, or some other English settlement, and the Seminary be removed from this country, and placed under his charge; that, to these ends, careful enquiries should be immediately set on foot for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner, and in what places, the work might be best begun; that the utmost pains should be taken not to exasperate or alarm the people, by resorting to any compulsory or deceitful modes of dealing with them; that copies of all orders and regulations of the Dutch East India Company, upon such matters, should be obtained; that, after a thorough consideration of the whole subject, an Act of Parliament, obliging our East India Company to carry it into effect, should be passed; that 'wise and good men be made choice of in London for the directing and carrying on of the whole design; and that all good Christians pray for the good success of it.'

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Two great difficulties, in the way of attaining these objects, had presented themselves to the mind of Prideaux; and he states them without reserve; the first, arising from the Roman Catholic influence of the Portuguese, already established in various parts of India; the second, created by the immoral lives of the English professing Christianity. With respect to the first, he lays it down as a rule, scrupulously to be observed, that, wheresoever our possessions had been acquired, as in the case of Bombay and Madras, upon the faith of certain articles of

treaty agreed to by the Portuguese, there, nothing should be done which might tend in any way to a breach of that faith; but, that, where this was not the case, it might be well to 'follow the example of the Dutch, who put none into their garrisons but such as' were of their 'own nation and religion.' With respect to the second difficulty, he feels, that, as the grace of God could alone effectually remove it, so it was to be sought by the diligent and faithful observance of the means of grace. In all our factories, therefore, and forts, he urges that Churches should be built, and that there, as also on board of our ships, the services of pious and able ministers should be secured; and, that, as a further encouragement of them, instead of making the stipends of the Chaplains (as they then were) at the fixed rate of fifty pounds a year, and the like amount depending upon contingencies, the whole should be fixed at one hundred pounds a year. He insists also upon the justice of treating the English Chaplains with more respect and courtesy than it seems had hitherto been shown towards them 'at the common table of the factory.' The Popish priest, according to the account then received, sat 'first, the Dutch minister next, and the English minister, at the distance of many places, below both;' an order, which Prideaux thinks might, with propriety, have been reversed. But, far more important than any mere question of precedence, is the proposal which Prideaux again urges, at the end of his appeal, that a Bishop should be sent out to govern the Churches

in India, 'and there to breed and ordain upon the spot ministers for the service of the said Churches, that so there may not be a necessity of having them always from England.'

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Such were the statements and proposals of Humphrey Prideaux. He accompanied them by a letter, as I have before said, to Archbishop Tenison. It was a critical moment; for the bye-laws of the Company had only been agreed upon the week before Prideaux wrote this letter, and were even then preparing 'to be confirmed by the Broad Seal.' He entreats the Archbishop, therefore, to interpose with the King, and obtain an insertion of a bye-law, obliging the Company to do 'something towards that good work.' He reminds him of the exertions made by Boyle,—then gone to his rest,—with whom, doubtless, when he was a parishioner of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Tenison, once its incumbent, had frequently conversed upon this subject. He speaks of the mighty work which was before them, and of the neglect of which they should be guilty, did they fail to take advantage of the present opportunity. He cheers himself with the remembrance that the Archbishop had accepted from him with candour, 'proposals of a like nature formerly,' and with the hope that what he now offered would likewise meet with favourable acceptance. His words, in conclusion, are: 'It is the interest of our Great Master, to whom your Grace and I are equally servants. But you have the greater power, and the larger talents, whereby to promote it. The most that I can do, is

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to offer the matter to be considered: your Grace only is able to bring it to any effect. I confess we have work enough at home, God Almighty help us; but this is no sufficient reason, when an opportunity is offered to serve Him elsewhere, for us to neglect it. If the Company cannot be brought to do something in the business, it would be a work worthy of your Grace to promote it, by the contributions of well-disposed Christians among us; it would be a matter of great reputation to our Church, if we alone, who are of the Clergy, should undertake it. And, whensoever it shall be thus undertaken, though I serve the Church mostly upon my own estate, yet my purse shall be opened as wide towards it as my means. I will readily subscribe an hundred pounds at the first offer; neither shall I stop here, if the work goes on; and if others will give proportionably, I doubt not but that a great deal might be done herein¹⁹⁹.

The appeal thus made by Prideaux was so far successful, that, in the very next Charter which, it has been said, was granted by William in 1698, and by which affairs were still conducted after the union of the two Companies, the following important clauses, bearing upon this subject, were inserted:

To maintain
a minister
and school-
master at St.
Helena, and
ministers at
their fac-
tories in
India,

And we do hereby further will and appoint: That the said Company, hereby established, and their successors, shall constantly maintain *a minister and schoolmaster in the Island of St. Helena, when the said Island shall come into the hands or posses-*

¹⁹⁹ Life of Prideaux, i. 1—14. 151—183.

sion of the same Company ; and also one minister in every garrison and superior factory, which the same Company or their successors shall have in the said East Indies, or other parts within the limits aforesaid ; and shall also in such garrisons and factories, respectively provide, or set apart, a decent and convenient place for Divine Service only ; *and shall also take a chaplain on board every ship which shall be sent by the same Company to the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, which shall be of the burthen of five hundred tons or upwards, for such voyage, the salary of which chaplain shall commence from the time that such ship shall depart from England* : and, moreover, that no such minister shall be sent by the said Company to the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, until he shall have been first approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being ; all which said ministers so to be sent shall be entertained from time to time with due respect.

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And a chaplain on board every ship of 500 tons.

And we do further will and appoint, that all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India, as aforesaid, shall be obliged to learn, within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion ; and that in case of the death of any of the said ministers, residing in the East Indies, or other the parts within the limits aforesaid, the place of such minister, so dying, shall be supplied by any of the chaplains out of the next ships, that shall arrive at or near the place where such minister shall happen to die.

They are obliged to learn Portuguese and the native language.

And we do hereby further will and direct, that the said Company, and their successors, shall, from time to time, provide schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories, where they shall be found necessary.

Schoolmasters to be provided.

The passages marked in italics in the first of the above clauses, refer to provisions for which the East

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India Company are no longer answerable; for St Helena was transferred to the Crown by Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 85, and, since the suspension of their trade, they have no longer mercantile shipping³⁰⁰. But the recent brief period, during which the Charter of the Company has been inoperative in these respects, is as nothing when compared with the century and more, throughout which the whole clause was in force; and the other enactments, even now, remain binding upon them with all the weight of their original authority. It is manifest, therefore, that, to whatsoever extent these obligations have been neglected, the parties guilty of the neglect have committed a grievous, and, in a great measure, an irreparable, wrong. Entrusted, by virtue of this Charter, with the richest and most extensive territory which ever paid tribute to an earthly empire,—gathering unto themselves dignity, and wealth, and patronage, as they have wielded its mighty destinies,—it is, nevertheless, notorious that they have, in former days, suffered to fall into partial, and sometimes into total, abeyance, those duties by which it was always required of them that they should uphold in their fleets, and forts, and factories, the observance of Christian ordinances, and make known to the different tribes of India, in their native dialects, through the efficient agency of clergy and of schoolmasters, the glad tidings of salvation. A heavy burden of condemnation, I repeat, rests upon

³⁰⁰ The Law relating to India, p. 4.

the heads of those who were thus faithless in their trust.

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But, let it be remembered that the Church of England, in the persons of some of the most distinguished members of her communion, and of her Primate, plainly told them of their duty. A comparison of the above clauses with the statement of Prideaux to Archbishop Tenison, will show that the latter had taken care to embody in the Company's Charter, almost to the very letter, the chief points which had been submitted to his consideration, and which met with his concurrence. And, when we bear in mind that Boyle, some years before, had tried in vain to bind the original Company to the performance of like duties, it is plain that the appointment of these, in their present form and at the present time, must have been directly owing to Tenison's interposition. If further confirmation of the truth of this statement be required, it is found in the fact, that the Archbishop was present at, and witnessed, the signature of the Charter²⁰¹.

Another point there is too, which, although of later date, calls for attention in this place, because it is immediately connected with the persons and acts here spoken of, namely, the renewed exertions of Dean Prideaux. He lived until the year 1724, when he was seventy-six years old; and, in May, 1718, although he had long been subject to a most painful and distressing malady, and was yet a

²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 11.

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laborious student and faithful administrator of his public duties, he again addressed a letter to Archbishop Wake upon the subject which, twenty-three years before, he had submitted to his predecessor. It does not appear from it, that any open violation of the clauses of their Charter, above referred to, had then been committed; but it is also evident that the work was not going on satisfactorily. Prideaux had watched its progress with an anxious mind; and his experience had brought him to this most important conclusion, that it was 'not possible to carry on the work of the Ministry, either in the East or the West Indies, with any good success, unless there be Bishops and Seminaries settled in them, that so Ministers may be bred and ordained upon the spot.' He then points out the course pursued by the Roman Catholics, who possessed institutions at home, out of which they could send such men as they judged best able to undertake the duties of their missions, and Superiors in India who could watch and direct their proceedings, when they arrived there; and describes the humiliating contrast exhibited in the Church of England, to whom was denied the power of exercising, in like manner, her inherent privileges, her inalienable duties. He thus confirms, not only the conclusion which he had already submitted to Archbishop Tenison, but those also which had been before communicated to the same effect, from North America, the West Indies, and in England, by others,—namely, the necessity of forming forthwith a Colonial Episcopate.

The unsettled state of affairs, at that time, at home, led Prideaux to believe, that, however anxious Archbishop Wake might be to forward the work, the opportunity might not speedily arrive. Nevertheless, he entreats his Grace to keep the matter before him, and refers him to various parties in London, connected with India, from whom fuller information might be received ²⁰².

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Thus earnestly did this good man seek to strengthen and enlarge the borders of his heavenly Master's kingdom. To India, he had turned his thoughts, amid the studies of his early manhood; to the welfare of the people of India, and of our countrymen in it, he had devoted, with wisdom and faithful intelligence, the counsels of his riper years; and now, in the evening of his life, in great pain and weakness of body, in the midst of other duties which claimed and received his assiduous care, and of other studies, which he prosecuted only that he might make his varied stores of learning instrumental to the elucidation of Holy Scripture,—and prosecuted with such success, that the whole Christian world bears witness to it,—he is still found watching and praying for the blessing of India. Assuredly, it is a cause of thankfulness to know, that such a man was ours, and that his example is yet before us.

Within the period to which we have, for the most part, limited in the present chapter our survey

The Church
of England
at home
from 1684
to 1702.

²⁰² Life of Prideaux, i. 183—188.

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of the condition of the Church of England abroad, events occurred also at home, intimately concerning her welfare; and to these our attention must be briefly directed. The notice of some of them,—and those the best known to every reader,—has necessarily been interwoven with the different threads of history which have lately passed through our hands; but, just as we have seen that the vicissitudes of England and her national Church, under Charles I., the Commonwealth, and Charles II., were felt, at every turn, and in every remotest land with which she was then connected by her commerce or colonial jurisdiction, so, in the circumstances which led to the abdication of James II., and to the Revolution which placed his daughter Mary and her husband William upon the throne, we shall find, that, not only was the integrity of our Church assailed, and the stedfastness of her spiritual rulers severely tried, but that most important consequences resulted from these changes, which operated, for many years afterwards, as strongly abroad as at home, and materially contributed to increase, if they did not create, those difficulties which impeded her progress during the eighteenth century. I will here glance, therefore, at some of the chief of them.

The open communion of the Duke of York with the Church of Rome, during his brother's reign,—the measures taken to exclude him and all other members of that Church from any office in the State,—and the course of policy which they pursued, in con-

sequence, have all been adverted to before²⁰³. It will now be seen that the acts of James II. upon his throne were marked by the same character, and had the same direct tendency, with those which he had been so anxious to promote, when he was heir presumptive. His connexion with the Church of Rome was sufficiently declared by his going publicly to mass on the first Sunday after his accession. His professed desire to procure for all who differed from the Church of England, a relief from the cruel pains and penalties with which the Parliaments of Charles had visited them, was exhibited not less clearly, by many acts of favour freely granted to them, and, especially, by his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, issued April 4, 1687, whereby all former Statutes, restraining that liberty, were virtually repealed. And, last of all, his arbitrary character, and the purpose, which he had ultimately in view, of giving complete ascendancy to the Church of Rome, by the exercise of this dispensing power, were manifested, beyond all doubt, at every step of his progress. They were seen through, even by the very Nonconformists, with whom he professed so strongly to sympathize, and whom he so abundantly favoured. They were seen through, likewise, by the mass of the whole nation, as time passed onward, and divulged the secret of his will. His conduct towards the Church of England was the main evidence which proclaimed him both a tyrant and de-

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²⁰³ See pp. 452—455, *ante*.

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ceiver. Professing himself, at first, ready to observe an equitable and friendly spirit towards her, he soon entered upon a totally opposite course; writing to her Bishops to forbid the clergy from preaching upon controversial subjects, lest, in the discharge of their plain and imperative duty, they should vindicate too successfully the doctrines of the Reformation, and proclaim truths unwelcome to him and to the members of his communion; then, appointing a Commission for ecclesiastical affairs, vested with most absolute powers, which had no foundation whatsoever in law, and from which Archbishop Sancroft, therefore, pleading the infirmities of age, begged permission to retire; dragging before that unlawful tribunal Bishop Compton himself, and suspending him from his office, because he declined to restrain, in the manner dictated by the King, Sharp, then Rector of St. Giles's, and afterwards Archbishop of York, from preaching against Popery; refusing to submit to a competent tribunal the question touching the legality of the dispensing power which he had assumed to himself in his Declaration; and, when it was forced to a decision, in the case of Sir Edward Hales, taking all necessary care that it should be determined by such judges only as he knew beforehand would certainly act in accordance with his will; next, turning his eyes to our Universities, and seeing how he might lay his grasp upon them; appointing, in 1686, Massey, a Roman Catholic, Dean of Christ Church, in room of Bishop Fell, who had died; commanding, in the next year,

the Fellows of Magdalen College, to elect, as their President, Farmer, another Roman Catholic, and whose character would have been a disgrace to any communion; and,—when they nobly and faithfully elected Hough, and refused to admit Bishop Parker, of Oxford, whom the King afterwards sought to thrust upon them,—depriving Hough, and twenty-five other Fellows, of their Fellowships, and forbidding them to receive preferment from any other hands; issuing, at the same time, edicts scarcely less tyrannical to the University of Cambridge, and the Governors of the Charter House, which both those bodies refused to obey; acting, all this while, in accordance only with his own will; having dismissed, as soon as he could, the Parliament which he was forced to summon, and resolved not to assemble another; looking chiefly to his army for support, and yet not feeling fully assured of its fidelity; and then, as the climax to these and other acts of outrage against conscience, property, and personal freedom, republishing, in April 27, 1688, his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and accompanying it with an Order of Council, that it should be read in every Parish Church:—no marvel that the man, who did all this, should have been working his own ruin.

The end soon came. A Petition, expressing their unwillingness to read the Declaration, and their readiness to assist in procuring terms of agreement with the Nonconformists, was signed by Archbishop Sancroft, and Bishops Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and

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Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol, and presented to the King. His indignation at this refusal to obey his will, was met by the signatures of six more Bishops, expressing their concurrence in the Petition, and by the determination of an overwhelming majority of the clergy who followed their example, and refused to publish the Declaration in their Churches. The gates of the Tower were then opened to receive the seven faithful men who had withstood the monarch's will; amid the tears and prayers of multitudes who sought their blessing, they went within them; and, in the chapel of that prison, poured forth their supplications, with thanksgivings, unto God. Their trial followed; the verdict of acquittal freed them; and the joyful shouts with which the tidings of that fact were welcomed in the city, in the country, and even in the King's camp, filled him with dismay. Still, for a time, he appeared firm. The judges, who had pronounced an opinion in favour of the Bishops upon their trial, were dismissed; and the names of those clergy, who had refused to read the Declaration, were required to be sent in. But all these signs of imperious anger vanished, when the report reached him that the Prince of Orange was at hand. Then, he eagerly published his proclamation, promising to preserve inviolate the Church of England; then, he courted the counsels of the very Primate, whose presence in the palace he had forbidden, and whose person he had sought to crush; then, he released from his long term of suspension that resolute Bishop of Lon-

don, who, by the public annexation of his signature to the obnoxious Petition, had proved that no frowns of the Court could scare him from his duty; then, too, he sought to atone for other offences, giving back to the city of London the Charter of which he had robbed them; restoring to magistrates the commissions of peace which he had ordered them to surrender; and promising to do any and every thing which might justly be required for the protection of his subjects. *But it was too late.* A few more weeks, and he had left his throne for ever.

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With the Revolution, arose new difficulties and causes of division. Many of the Bishops and subordinate ministers of the Church,—even some of those who had been most firm in remonstrating with James, and in refusing to obey his unlawful commands,—felt, nevertheless, that they were bound to maintain their sworn allegiance to him, and could not transfer it to another sovereign. Upon this ground, eight Bishops, and about four hundred of the clergy, in various parts of England, refused to take the oath to William and Mary. Whilst efforts were making to overcome their scruples, two of the above number, Bishops Lake of Chichester, and Thomas of Worcester, died. The rest, namely, Archbishop Sancroft, and Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, White of Peterborough, and Ken of Bath and Wells,—being found, with the other clergy, still resolute in adhering to this their conscientious conviction,—were all deprived of their preferments. It is impossible not to

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feel the deepest veneration and respect for these Non-juring clergy, and the lay-members of our communion who sympathized and acted with them. Some of the holiest and most stedfast men of God, ever nurtured in the bosom of our sanctuary, were in their ranks; the memory of whose example, and the words of whose teaching, are still our guide and solace. Had their history begun and ended with that of their temporal privations, I know not what terms of censure could justly have been cast upon them. The purity of their motives must have been admired, even by those who may deny the soundness of their opinions. But a very different feeling arises, when we find them taking steps to continue a separate line of successors in the Episcopal office, and thereby to perpetuate, as far as they could, the schism which had been begun. We then see grievous mischief springing up, in every quarter, both abroad and at home. The Church is divided against herself; altar against altar is set up; and, into the same territorial field of labour, ministers,—claiming to be members of the same branch of the Universal Church of Christ, and ordained by the same Apostolical authority,—enter, not as united brothers, but as hostile rivals. Political influences, moreover, mingled with, and increased, the bitterness of the conflict. The rights of James survived in the person of him who claimed to be his son; the Non-juror, therefore, of necessity, became a Jacobite; and so, refusing either to render honour to those whom Parliament had constituted the sole source of

all lawful authority, or else actually entering into plots or open war to effect their overthrow, furnished the statesman with a reasonable plea for restraining the energies of the Church, of which such men were ministers. Unable to convince those who believed it their duty to put forth its energies in this form, he felt it expedient to encumber, as far as he could, their exercise. The proofs of this state of things, and of their disastrous consequences, belong to a later period of our history. But the matter of fact is too important, and too closely connected with our present subject, not to be noticed in this place. One striking illustration, indeed, of its pernicious influence upon our Colonial Church may, by anticipation, be glanced at even here. Among the earliest and most efficient Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was Mr. Talbot, who, having constantly entreated that a Bishop might be sent out to America, was, for that very reason, charged with disaffection to the Government. That such a conclusion should have resulted from such premises, proves the extent of the evil that was at work. At first, indeed, there is every reason to believe that the charge against Talbot was wholly groundless; he urged his prayer solely upon the ground of its own actual necessity. But the troubles of the first rebellion in 1715, led the counsellors of George I. to watch with unusual jealousy the proceedings of all his subjects on either side of the Atlantic. And, when they saw Talbot after-

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wards return home, and place himself openly in the ranks of the adherents of the house of Stuart, and receive consecration at the hands of the Non-juring Bishops, that he might execute their office in America²⁰⁴, they, and their successors, visited upon the great body of the Church, the offence of which he, and others, had been guilty; they showed a jealous mistrust of her proceedings at home, and a dogged resolution not to strengthen her abroad. Other causes, as we shall see hereafter, contributed to the same result; but the false relation of the Church and State towards each other, at this period, of which the origin has been here described, was, undoubtedly, one of the most prominent.

Another consequence of the Revolution must also be noticed here, namely, the altered position of the Nonconformist body, by the passing of the Toleration Act, in the first year of William and Mary. The liberty, indeed, provided by this Act was imperfect, even in respect of those whom it professed to relieve; and was withheld altogether from Roman Catholics, and those who denied the Holy Trinity, against whom even fresh penalties were enacted in the course of the same reign. Nevertheless, it was a measure well fitted to excite the deepest gratitude; it removed a galling yoke from those who were not in communion with the Church; it gave to the Church herself a gift not less precious, by dissociating her from a system of harshness and oppression. But a feeling of regret must ever be

²⁰⁴ Hawkins, 145, 146.

awakened in the minds of all who read impartially the annals of that period, at witnessing the failure of the attempt made, both before and after the Revolution, to effect an union of the Church with many of the Nonconformists. Sancroft had sought to promote that object in an honest, intelligent, and impartial spirit. The minds of Baxter and other separatists had been, for some time, kindly disposed towards the Primate and his brethren. They had admired the zeal and wisdom and firmness with which so many of our Divines, by their writings and actions, had withstood the encroachments of Popery; and, afterwards, when the King's vengeance fell upon the seven Bishops, many had not hesitated to avow publicly their sympathy with them, and, even in their prison, visited them. "A great door and effectual" seemed herein to be "opened," through which a way of blessed reconciliation might have been found. Sancroft had tried to find it, and held frequent intercourse with Patrick and Sharp and others, upon the means most likely to attain that end. But the change in the government which speedily followed, his views respecting it, and consequent deprivation of authority, put an end, of course, to every hope which had arisen in his mind. A similar attempt was renewed, soon after the passing of the Toleration Act; and the Commission, issued Sept. 13, 1689, for preparing alterations in the Liturgy and Canons, was appointed with the view of restoring many to our communion, whom the unhappy strifes of preceding years had separated from it.

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But its deliberations were vain, and the scheme of comprehension was broken up. Thus, whilst most of the temporal penalties on account of differences of religious faith were rightly done away, the attempt to remove the differences themselves proved ineffectual; and the Church was still left beset with adversaries.

In Scotland, it may be remarked, that the outrageous system of persecution, pursued under Charles II.²⁰⁵, and maintained with not less rigour in the earlier part of his successor's reign, in order that Episcopacy might be raised upon the ruins of Presbyterianism, was followed by that signal defeat of its own designs, which must, sooner or later, attend the exercise of all unrighteous means. The feelings of the people were exasperated by the long and terrible oppressions which they had endured; they hated Prelacy, because it was identified with the persons of those by whom they had suffered wrong; they eagerly laid hold upon the opportunity, which the Revolution afforded them, of renewing the Presbyterian discipline; and, by an Act of the Scotch Parliament, in 1690, it was established. Here then was another source of disunion and opposition. The Church was made to bear the penalty of the unlawful deeds which had been committed in her name. The assistance, moreover, which she might have derived from those who still loved her communion in that country, was rendered useless by the

²⁰⁵ See pp. 459, 460, *ante*.

causes which have just been pointed out as operating in the case of the English Nonjurors. Like them, the ejected Bishops and clergy in Scotland were, for the most part, adherents of the exiled prince²⁰⁶.

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The work, nevertheless, of her Divine Founder was to be done, and the means granted by Him for its performance, amid all the trials through which it was His Will that she should pass, were to be faithfully and diligently employed. It has been my object to describe, in the foregoing pages, the manner in which the duty was discharged thus far. A few more brief notices will bring us to the period with which this Volume closes.

The three years (1691—1694) in which Tillotson, the successor of Sancroft, was Primate, were full of trouble to himself, and gave him no opportunity of originating new instruments of missionary enterprise abroad, or of strengthening those already in operation. The chief management of them rested, we have seen, with Bishop Compton. But the vastness of that field of labour which the growing Colonies of North America opened to the view of Tillotson,—the probable progress of the Gospel light towards those Western regions,—and the darkness which might hereafter come, as a judgment, upon the nations of Christian Europe, if they walked not in

²⁰⁶ For the authorities from which the above sketch is taken, the reader is referred to D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, 2nd Ed., 124—318; Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 39—275; Burnet's *Own Times*; Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution in loc*; Hallam's *Const. Hist.* iii. 79—140. 234—239; Bishop Short's *Hist. of Ch. of England*, c. xvii. xviii; Rapin, xv. b. 1. xxiv.; Cardwell's *Hist. of Conf.* c. ix.

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that same light whilst they had it with them,—are all described by him, in his Sermon upon ‘The duty of improving the present opportunity and advantages of the Gospel’²⁰⁷. He quotes therein, as an illustration of the train of thought which he pursued, those lines from ‘The Church Militant’ of good George Herbert, which have been before brought to the reader’s attention; and applies them as a warning to his hearers, that they should not, through their own impenitence or neglect, cause Religion to pass away from them for ever ‘to the American strand’²⁰⁸.

Boyle.

A few months after Tillotson’s elevation to the Primacy, the Church lost one of her most excellent and devoted members, Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork. He died, Dec. 30, 1691; having soon followed to his rest the zealous ‘Apostle of the Indians,’ whom he had so often rejoiced to help, even after the divisions of that day had separated them²⁰⁹. I have already ascribed the revival of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, after the Restoration, to the influence of Boyle; and it appears that much difficulty was experienced in accomplishing that object. Colonel Bedingfield, a Roman Catholic, who had sold an estate to the Society soon after its establishment under the Commonwealth, took advantage of the altered state of things, whereby that corporation

²⁰⁷ Tillotson’s Works, ii. 623, fol. ed. The text is John xii. 35.

²⁰⁸ See Vol. i. c. x. ad fin. Cotton Mather, in the first sentence of the Introduction to his Magna-

lia, adopts the same thought and language of Herbert, but without acknowledgment.

²⁰⁹ See pp. 386—391, *ante*.

had now ceased to exist; repossessed himself of the estate; and refused to give it up, or refund the money for which it had been sold. Boyle immediately took steps to bring Bedingfield's conduct under the notice of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, who, by his decree, compelled the estate to be restored. The revival of the Society soon followed, under a new Charter, which is dated Feb. 7, 1661-2; and, having described the pains and success of certain English ministers of the Gospel in New England, constitutes, with specific rights, Lords Clarendon, Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and others high in office, together with several influential citizens of London, 'a Company, for the propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America.' Of this Company, Boyle, without any solicitation on his part, was appointed the first governor; and the spirit in which he discharged his duties in that office,—especially his care in urging a mitigation of the severities of New England rule,—may be seen from the following extract of a letter from him to Eliot, in the beginning of the year 1681: 'I am very glad to find, by the favour of your very kind letter, that God is pleased to continue you still an active and useful instrument in the propagation of the Gospel of his Son among the poor Indians, whose having been so true to Christianity, and serviceable to the English interest, may well prove matter of rejoicing both to you and us. That little, which I have contributed to their

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good, deserves not so advantageous a mention as your letter makes of it; and duties of that kind have such recompences apportioned to them by God, that the performers need not seek them from the acknowledgments of men.—I have, to my trouble, heard the government of the Massachusetts sharply censured for their great severity to some dissenters, who, contrary to order, had convened at a meeting-house to worship God. This severe proceeding seems to be the more strange, and the less defensible in those, who having left their native country, and crossed the vast ocean to settle in a wilderness, that they may there enjoy the liberty of worshipping God according to their own conscience, seem to be more engaged than other men to allow their brethren a share in what they thought was so much all good men's due. And, indeed, though persecution for innocent, though perhaps erroneous opinions, taken up for conscience sake, were not unsuitable to the equity and gentleness of the Gospel; yet many of your friends here think it would be a very improper course to be taken by you at this time, and fear, that if your rigorous proceedings against dissenters should be talked of here, (as if you quickly forbear them not they will be) it would open men's mouths against your government, and furnish your enemies with objections that your friends would not be able to answer; and, besides, may be of very bad consequence to that sort of men here, who do most symbolize with you in point of opinion and worship.

You will easily believe that I, who am never likely to visit your Colony, have no private ends of my own in what I have now written; and therefore I hope you will take it, as it is meant, for a friendly (and perhaps not unseasonable) admonition, the despising of which may probably be more prejudicial to your Colony than many among you seem to be aware of. Our worthy friend, Alderman Ashurst (though now, thanks be to God, in a more hopeful condition) was on Wednesday last so ill, that the Corporation could not meet at his house; and the presence of that good man was much missed amongst us; and particularly in reference to your desire of having the Old Testament reprinted in the Indian language. In his absence I read to the company that part of your letter to me, which concerns that affair, and the business was discoursed of among us; but in regard we have had no letters from the commissioners about it, and that the court thought they might hear further before the New Testament and Psalms would be printed off, they did not think fit to determine any more about that business, till they should have a particular account of the progress and expense of the work already begun; by which account they expect to be assisted to take further measures.' It was not only by such counsels that Boyle sought to promote the work assigned to him. He gave to it three hundred pounds during his life; and, by his Will, bequeathed one hundred pounds more; and, his legacies to his sister and other relatives were accompanied with

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the expression of his hope, that they would apply 'the greatest part of the same for the advance or propagation of the Christian religion amongst infidels.' Another object of a kindred nature to this was also provided for, by his institution of certain Lectures, to be preached every year in London, 'for proving the Christian religion against notorious Infidels,' and by his further enjoining the clergy appointed to that office, 'to be assisting to all Companies, and encouraging of them in any undertaking for propagating the Christian religion to foreign parts'²¹⁰. His pious intentions in this design have not been frustrated. Some of the most valuable additions to our theological literature, in the last and present century, have been supplied by the Boyle Lecturers; and, through a faithful continuance in their course, many in future generations shall yet "arise up, and call" him "blessed."

SOCIETY
FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN
KNOWLEDGE.

SOCIETY
FOR THE
PROPAGATION
OF THE GOS-
PEL IN
FOREIGN
PARTS.

Whilst Boyle was thus devoting the last energies of his life to the prosecution of the same works which had ever interested him, and thus devising plans for their continuance after his departure, we have seen, that the thoughts and prayers of many sincere and affectionate members of the Church were likewise directed to the same important object. Tenison,—the very clergyman with whom he had often held intimate and holy converse, whose ministrations in St. Martin's Church had consoled and guided him, who had waited upon him in his hours of sick-

²¹⁰ Boyle's Life, and Appendix thereto prefixed to his Works, i. lxviii. cxx.—clxvii.

ness, and performed, probably, the last sacred office over his remains, as they were deposited in that sanctuary,—was himself permitted soon afterwards to be an instrument, with others, in establishing and conducting the early operations of those two Societies, which have ever since been the impartial almoners of the Church's bounty, and the chief agents of her will, as she has sought to minister to the spiritual wants of England and her Colonies. In 1694, Tenison was translated, from the Diocese of Lincoln, to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury. Within four years afterwards, was instituted THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE; and, again, after an interval of little more than two years, THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. The circumstances which led to their formation have been already stated ²¹¹; those which relate to their subsequent proceedings, I purpose to detail hereafter.

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And now, let us review the ground which has been traversed in these two Volumes. We have seen that the sole foreign possession of England, at the Reformation, was Calais, and that Archbishop Cranmer forthwith secured to its inhabitants, by the appointment of two efficient Chaplains and a Commissary, the same share in her spiritual, which they already enjoyed in her civil, privileges ²¹². In the reign also of Edward VI., his Letters Missive, to the rulers of the North and East, and the Instruc-

Concluding
reflections.

²¹¹ See pp. 628—630, *ante*.

²¹² Vol. i. c. i. ad fin.

tions and sacred Offices appointed to be observed on board the fleet then sent forth, under Sir Hugh Willoughby, alike demonstrate the spirit in which England sought to open an intercourse with unknown lands, and the care which she took that the Word of God, and the ministrations of His Church, should guide and comfort her children who ventured thither²¹³. The same care was witnessed, in the time of Elizabeth, when she permitted the English Russia Company to send out other vessels 'for discovery of Cathay,' along the same perilous North-Eastern passage in which Willoughby had perished²¹⁴. And so too, when that sovereign turned her attention to the West, and granted Letters Patent to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, by virtue of which he took possession of Newfoundland, we find them proclaiming 'the true Christian faith professed in the Church of England,' and a desire also manifested, by those who remained at home, to preserve their countrymen abroad in the same bonds of holy fellowship with themselves²¹⁵. The like evidences are presented to our view, in Elizabeth's Patent to Sir Walter Raleigh, under the authority of which his officers discovered and took possession of Virginia. Moreover, among those officers were some who made known to the native Indians the worship of the true God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, taught them the chief doctrines of Holy Scripture, prayed for them, and comforted

²¹³ Ib. c. ii. in loc.²¹⁴ Ib. c. iii. in loc.²¹⁵ Ib. c. iv. in loc.

them in their hours of sickness, and brought them to receive,—not in haste and ignorance, but with an assured and faithful knowledge,—the rite of Holy Baptism. Raleigh, indeed, was soon forced, through the losses experienced by his people, to make over to others the rights secured under his Patent; but not until he had given one hundred pounds ‘for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia,’—the first recorded offering of any Englishman for such a purpose²¹⁶. Again, the Charters of James I. to the London and Plymouth Companies, for the plantation of Virginia and New England, proclaim distinctly the duty of a Christian nation to communicate through her Colonies the knowledge of those truths which are her own best inheritance; and this acknowledgment was repeated not less explicitly by many who bore a part in those enterprises. It was not confined to words, but realized in the acts of those who made it. Under the authority of Archbishop Bancroft, a faithful minister of our Church went forth with the band of Virginian Colonists. The gentle and patient spirit of Robert Hunt was as balm to soothe the vexed and angry tempers of many who sailed with him. He reconciled their quarrels; animated their hopes; restrained their jealousies. As soon as they had set foot in the new country, his hands administered to them the elements of the Holy Communion of their blessed Saviour; and then, for a time, beneath the shade of trees and tattered

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²¹⁶ Ib. c. v. in loc.

sails, and afterwards, within the rude log Church, whose walls and roof were covered with sedge and earth, he read, each morning and evening, among the assembled worshippers, the services of our Common Prayer; was diligent in preaching twice upon the Lord's Day; administered, in different seasons, every other ordinance of the Church; and did faithfully, in every quarter, "the work of an evangelist." And, when a fire burnt down that humble sanctuary, and consumed all his books and goods, he was seen, with un murmuring and cheerful spirit, still labouring, still seeking to win souls unto Christ. He died, amid the tears and blessings of his people; and the memory of his blessed services prompted them to be not more prompt in repairing their palisades, and rebuilding their storehouses, and planting their corn-fields, than they were in building up again their House of Prayer²¹⁷. His spirit was shared by others who followed him. Witness the services of that stedfast minister, who was cast away with Gates and Somers, upon 'the still vex'd Bermoothes,' yet, in that lonely spot, gathering together his brethren in daily prayer, and exhorting them to thankfulness and unity; reaching, after the lapse of many months,—in the small rude vessels, made out of the timber of their 'ruined shippe,' and the native cedar of the Islands,—the miserable people of James Town, in the most trying hour of their famine; entering, with his own people, and as many of the poor inhabitants

²¹⁷ Ib. c. viii. in loc., and Appendix to this Volume, No. I.

as could crawl out of their hovels, into the forsaken sanctuary, and there pleading, in 'zealous and sorrowful prayer,' for them and for himself, before the Lord their God. Witness again his services, when the noble De la Warr arrived to sustain the sinking Colony, and,—having first bowed down in silent prayer upon the land which called him Governor,—turned his next footsteps to the Church, and heard, from the lips of that minister, the words of exhortation and of hope. Witness, too, the ministrations of those 'true preachers,' who came with De la Warr, and pursued, in holy constancy, their path of duty. Witness, above all, the devotion of Alexander Whitaker, who, soon afterwards, appeared as the friend and companion of that excellent governor, Sir Thomas Dale; who inherited a name already distinguished among the clergy of our land, and, by his own services, had conferred upon it still greater honour; whose means were abundant, whose influence was great, whose friends were numerous at home, and yet did he leave all, that he might 'go to Virginia, and help to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles.' Witness, I say, the zeal, the love, the vigilance, with which, in Henrico and in James Town, he not only plied his own unwearied ministrations, but stirred up the hearts of his brethren at home to the same work, beseeching them to "cast" their "bread upon the waters, for" they should "find it after many days"²¹⁶. And, then, the affec-

²¹⁶ Eccles. xi. 1. This was the text of Whitaker's Sermon, sent to his friend Crashaw for publication, —the first which ever reached Eng-

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tionate and patient care with which he trained in the knowledge of Christian truth the captive Pocahuntas,—that brave and generous daughter of the Indian race,—and received her ‘into the congregation of Christ’s flock’ by Baptism. Witness, once more, the prayers and sympathies of many in England, who rejoiced to smooth the path, and strengthen the hands of Whitaker. Hakluyt, Smith, Sandys, John and Nicholas Ferrar,—the commanding spirits of the Virginia Council,—all directed their energies to this end; and, in their formal Declaration of the purpose and ends of the Colony, and the measures which they urged in its behalf, both spoke and acted as became ministers and members of the Church of Christ in this land. The mandate was issued also, from her spiritual and temporal rulers, to all her members, calling upon them to sustain the work; they, who proclaimed this call themselves obeyed it; the foundation of a College for the instruction of Indian children, was projected; offerings were freely given, for the advancement of that and other similar designs; provision was made for the maintenance of clergy in the province; applications were addressed to the Bishop of London (King), whose heart and hand were already in the work, to assist the Virginia Council in providing ‘pious, learned, and painful ministers;’ the foremost of our clergy, with eloquent and earnest truth, set forth

land from the other side of the Atlantic,—and to which Crashaw prefixed an Epistle Dedicatory. I have given extracts from both. Vol. i. c. x.

the duties which England and her Church were bound, in that solemn crisis, to remember; their arguments, their exhortations, their prayers, are still with us, to show, that, when that scene of distant dominion first opened upon their eyes, they were mindful of the high and holy purposes which the Providence of God intended by it, and zealous in their desire that none should fail through sloth or avarice²¹⁹. The seed, thus scattered upon the hearts of Englishmen, perished not. Its growth was hindered, but its vitality was not destroyed. The breath of faction soiled it; the tempest of passion shook it; the hand of violence oppressed it; but it lived on still. We have traced its existence every where. Even to the furthest North, some tokens of its power penetrated. The hardy mariners who ventured thither, were strengthened by the holy ordinances of Christ, ere they left the city or the river from which they sailed; and, in their dangers and vicissitudes, had still a faithful minister of God to guide and comfort them²²⁰. Again, when our first Charles began his unhappy reign, a Bishop of our Church proclaimed in the ears of that Monarch and his assembled Peers, the guilt that would rest upon the land, if they were 'not carefull to bring them that sit in the darknesse and in the shadow of death to the knowledge of Christ and participation of the Gospel.' But for his age, he professed that he would himself have gone, and carried that knowledge to the Indians of America. His words were a

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²¹⁹ *Ib.* chap. ix, x. *passim*.

²²⁰ *Ib.* c. vi. in loc.; c. xii. ad init.

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spark which kindled fire in the hearts of others. He is spoken of with honour by the Pilgrim Fathers, even in the day of their sorest troubles; and, although himself a firm adherent to that Church from whose communion they fled, his desire to spread the Gospel light through other lands was acknowledged with affection by them²²¹. In like manner, it was a Presbyter, and afterwards Bishop, of our Church,—second to none for piety, and wisdom,—who, with others, petitioned the Long Parliament, before the troubles of the Civil War began, and besought them to take heed unto the condition of the Western World²²². The testimony, thus given, was not to be borne down by wars and tumults. Maryland was forestalled by the Papist, and Massachusetts by the Puritan; and so, for a time, in spite of their own condemning Charters, was denied to our Church all power of making her voice heard within their borders. But it was heard at last²²³. Even in Penn's territory, from the first issuing of his Charter, the design of extending thither the ministrations of our Church was cherished, and, in a few years, accomplished. Thus too, in Carolina, notwithstanding the obstructions cast in her way by the insane presumption of the Lords Proprietors, the services of her faithful clergy were exhibited. Into the Bermudas, also, the followers of those who first were wrecked upon their coast, had come, like them, with the Word and ordinances of Christ; and, although "confusion

²²¹ See pp. 366—371, *ante*.

²²² See pp. 145—153, *ante*.

²²³ See pp. 675—682, *ante*.

and every evil work" afterwards ensued, the evidences of former piety were not obliterated ²²⁴. In the West Indies, again, our earliest settlements were marked, not only by the zeal of governors and assemblies, eager to secure for them the ministrations of our Church ²²⁵, but by the active diligence of her clergy, who, in the strength of their Divine Master, restrained the waywardness, and sanctified the diligence, of all who bore a part in such enterprises. We have quoted the words of one of the most distinguished of that band, and have marked the fervent eloquence with which, in the early years of Charles I., he urged his solemn appeal ²²⁶. We have seen, also, in a later day, the generous efforts which another made, in those same Islands, to mitigate the sufferings of the slave, and to secure for him a share "in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." He swerved not from that purpose, although scorn and obloquy were heaped upon him; pleaded still manfully with his countrymen abroad and at home; vindicated the unalterable claims of justice and compassion; and, as long as those claims shall be remembered, so long shall the name of Morgan Godwyn be held in honour ²²⁷. The sentiments, again, of those who promoted the first plantation of Guiana, and the measures which they took in accordance with them, supply like proofs of truth, and piety, and zeal ²²⁸. India, moreover, was not without her evidences to

²²⁴ Ib. c. xi. ad init.; and pp. 178. 539, *ante*.

²²⁶ See pp 204—209, *ante*.

²²⁵ See pp. 185—197, *ante*.

²²⁷ See pp. 492—504, *ante*.

²²⁸ See pp. 232—237, *ante*.

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prove that Englishmen, devout and resolute, were seeking for God's blessing upon her. The vessels of our merchants sailed not thither, until first the word of exhortation and warning had been spoken on board of them by ministers of Christ. Holy prayers accompanied their departure; joyful praises welcomed their return²²⁹. For many years, indeed, those ministers themselves encountered the perils of the deep and of Indian climes; and one among them, when he found himself unable to be the herald of salvation to the heathen of the East, rested not until he made known its blessed message in the West. On board the vessel which bore him homewards, he strove successfully to obtain help towards the foundation of a Church and School in Virginia. His voice was heard afterwards pleading the same cause in England. He undertook to preside over the College, to be raised in that province, for the instruction of its people; and, when that design was frustrated by fearful massacre, he offered to the Bermudians the time and strength which yet remained to him, serving as a minister of the Church among them, and giving land for the instruction of their children. These Islands, we have seen, have not forgotten their benefactor. The name of Copeland yet lives among them²³⁰. And, further, we have seen that the very difficulties of India stimulated the hearts of Boyle and Prideaux to pray more earnestly, and watch more intently, for her welfare²³¹. Their efforts were

²²⁹ See pp. 272—279, *ante*.

²³⁰ Vol. i. c. x. in loc.; pp. 179, 180, *ante*. ²³¹ See pp. 701—713, *ante*.

joined with those of others. It could not be otherwise. The Church had already avowed her sense of the enlarged duties which then claimed her regard, by the additions made, at the Restoration, to her Book of Common Prayer²²². She had plainly confessed therein that the 'natives in our plantations' were to be her charge, and could not, without fearful mockery, afterwards draw back from it. The pains, therefore, which we have seen, were taken by her chief rulers and presbyters, Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Compton, and Dr. Bray, in conjunction with some most distinguished lay-members of her communion, to found those two Societies which have come down as a sacred inheritance to ourselves, are a proof of their earnest desire that the whole body of the Church should obey the solemn obligation thus taken upon her. She entered upon her work, in no niggard, timid, or partial spirit. The Iroquois Indians of the North, and the Yammasee Indians of the South, were alike the objects of her affectionate solicitude; and, among them and other tribes, were planted some of her earliest missions²²³.

But this is not all. Other regions, besides those in which England possessed plantations, have passed in review before us, namely, the marts of Europe and the East with which she was associated by the ties of commerce; and there, too, we have seen ministers and lay-members of her Church anxious to employ aright the riches of their own inheritance. The perilous, and

²²² See pp. 442—444, *ante*.

²²³ See p. 690, *ante*; Appendix, No. V.; Hawkins, 264—269.

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apparently abortive, adventures of the Russia Company, for example, beginning from the times of Mary and Elizabeth, left some traces at least to show that the faith and hope of English merchants had been remembered, amid their many trying vicissitudes ; for the very first Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, standing at the end of this Volume, tells us, that, at Moscow, the services of our Church were then duly observed, and that ground had been granted for the erection of a place of worship by the Czar²²⁴. In the Levant, also, we have met with many most cheering evidences of the generous zeal of English merchants, and the unflinching constancy of English ministers. There, Basire wandered in his painful travels, yet sought, at every step, to proclaim through Syria, and Greece, and Turkey, the blessings of 'the Britannick Church,' which, even in that hour of her lowest depression, she had not forfeited. There, Pocock won the hearts of Mahomedan teachers, not less than Christian brethren ; and, even to the end of his long life, rejoiced to send thither, in Eastern tongues, the tidings of Christ's salvation. There, Maundrell bore witness to the devout affection with which his people at Aleppo revered, in their daily services, the Liturgy of the Church of England. There, the Consuls and Factors of the Levant Company showed how earnestly they endeavoured, in conjunction with their own appointed clergy, at Smyrna and

²²⁴ Compare also Vol. i. c. ii. ad fin.

Constantinople, to make the relations of commerce a vehicle for communicating the knowledge of Christian truth to the inhabitants of the East ²³⁵.

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Meanwhile, in the prosecution of our enquiries, we have not concealed the errors which were committed, or the opportunities which were neglected, by our Church in those former days. Neither have we palliated the wrongs which were inflicted upon, nor disparaged the services which were performed by, those who were not of her communion. Nevertheless, after making every abatement which such facts demand, a large amount of faithful services rendered by the Church of England, in different quarters of the globe, and under circumstances of most appalling difficulty, has been here exhibited to our view; and the recollection of it should excite at once our gratitude and our diligence. They, indeed, who have evil will against her may choose now, as they have done aforesaid, to think scorn of her labours, and to look with self-complacency only upon their own. They may take up the description which Dryden, in his well-known poem, has given of our Church, under the image of the Panther, and say,

Thus like a creature of a double kind,
In her own labyrinth she lives confined,
To foreign lands no sound of her is come,
Humbly content to be despised at home.

But to say, or think, this, is to permit the ardour of the poet's imagination,—kindled, as it then was,

²³⁵ See pp. 282—303. 464—467, *ante*.

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with his new-born zeal for Popery,—to pervert the truth. The point at which we have now arrived, in this history, is midway in the three hundred years which have passed between the Reformation and the present time. And to which, we may ask, of the ‘foreign lands,’ then claimed by England as her own, did not the ‘sound of her’ Church ‘come,’ during the first century and a half of this interval? Faintly, indeed, was it heard in some regions; and we have seen the various causes of this. But it was not utterly excluded from any:—no, not even though she was laid low in the dust, for many years, and had scarcely “a name to live.” And she, who through many sorrows, was nevertheless permitted to hold on her course, is now, at the end of the second century and a half from the Reformation, enabled more abundantly to “show forth the praises of Him,” whose good Providence hath lifted her up, and strengthened her. The prayer so often urged, and urged in vain, from Virginia, from Maryland, from the West Indies, in behalf of India, and in England, that her Bishops might be sent abroad to be overseers of the flock of Christ, throughout her Colonies, has long since been granted. In the East, in the West, and in the South, twenty-one Dioceses, belonging to her National Church, exist in the foreign dominions of the British Empire. The number is increasing, and must increase. With them increases likewise,—as reason itself dictates, and experience has so signally confirmed,—the efficiency of every instrument which can serve to the

glory of God, or the welfare of His people. The two Societies, whose formation marks the middle period, here spoken of, are daily enlarging their sphere of action. Other instruments, shaped and acting towards the same ends, have been added unto them; and proofs of their successful agency abound on every side. They, for instance, who, a quarter of a century ago, "in simplicity and godly sincerity," entered into Newfoundland, that they might, as Schoolmasters and Teachers only, so far assist the Church in the duties which she had there to execute,—and who, in obedience to the call of the Bishop of Montreal, have since extended their valuable and welcome services to that Diocese²³⁶,—are now preparing to take a far wider range, and, if the means be given to them, to act as the willing and faithful agents of the Church in the work of Christian education, throughout every quarter of our Colonial empire. And even now, whilst we trace these lines, that other eminent Society,—whose earliest efforts were employed in carrying the ordinances of the Church to Africa and the East, and whose Missionaries have since made "full proof of" their "ministry," in the faith, and love, and zeal, wherewith they preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in well nigh every quarter of the heathen world,—is celebrating, with humble thankfulness, her first glad year of Jubilee. It is the year too in which the College of St. Augustine is opening wide its gates to receive those who desire to pro-

²³⁶ Vol. i. c. xi. ad fin.

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claim their Heavenly Master's message in foreign lands, and preparing for them those means of holy culture, which, sanctified by God's good Spirit, shall enable them to go forth as workmen that need "not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." Nor are these the only witnesses to tell us of the strength of that life which now stirs our hearts. The more than a thousand Churches raised up within the last few years, in the borders of our father-land: the new opportunities and means of holy usefulness called every where into existence with them, and the new energy imparted to institutions which are the most time-honoured among us; the addition already made to the number of our Bishops at home, and the hope supplied therein that more will follow; the fresh impulse given to thoughts of lofty enterprise; and the conviction daily fixing itself deeper within us, that He who has bestowed upon us His best gifts, will, by His Spirit, bring them to a glorious issue, and enable us to walk before Him "with a perfect heart:"—these are the evidences which prove how graciously "hitherto the Lord hath helped us;" and may our zeal and love, our faith and constancy wax stronger, as we call them, humbly and gratefully, to remembrance!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Notice of the first Church built at James Town, in Virginia,
and of the services of Robert Hunt, its first Minister.

THE following passage occurs in a pamphlet, published by the celebrated Captain John Smith, in 1631, entitled, 'Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or any where,' &c. It was written several years after his History of Virginia, so frequently referred to in my first Volume; and this passage would have been noticed there, had I been aware of its existence. But the pamphlet is scarce; and I have only lately succeeded in meeting with it. The quaint and touching description here given of the first Church in James Town, and of the faithful services of Robert Hunt, its first minister, confirm, in a very remarkable manner, the information which I had before obtained respecting them from other quarters, (see Vol. i. pp. 208, 209, and 221—223;) and, for this reason, I invite the reader's attention to it: 'Now because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in Virginia, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginnings and proceedings.

'When I went first to Virginia I well remember, wee

did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or four trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were made of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees: in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new: this was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three months the holy Communion, till our Minister died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers came: and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all as the Israelites in the wilderness.

‘Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miserie, time and experience had brought that country to a great happinesse, had they not so much doated on their Tabacco, on whose furnish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides, yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120 pounds a yeare, besides their own mundall industry, but James Towne was 500 pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councill here, allowed by the Councill there, and confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, An. 1605, to Master Richard Hacluit, Prebend of Westminster, who by his authority sent Master Robert Hunt, an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were

oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.' pp. 32, 33. Smith dedicates this pamphlet to Archbishop Abbot, being desirous, he says, 'to leave testimony to the world, how highly' he honoured 'as well the Miter as the Lance:' and, in one passage, he describes minutely the part of England in which he wrote it; for, speaking of the forest trees in Virginia, his words are: 'for many an hundred mile they for the most grow streight like unto the high grove or tuft of trees, upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight, Sir Humphrey Mildmay, so remarkable in Essex in the Parish of Danbery, where I writ this discourse.' Ib. 25.

No. II. p. 275.

A Prayer being arrived at a Port among Infidels.

O LORD it is thy goodnesse and mercie that hath brought vs safe through the many dangers of Sea vnto this place: where we are to enter yet into more dangers, being to trade and conuerse with such as neither know thee nor feare thee, and therefore can neither loue thee, nor vs that are professors of thy great name. We humbly entreate thee therefore to continue thy fatherly protection ouer vs, that we make not ouerselues a prey vnto them: Watch thou ouer vs (O Lord) and giue vs grace so to watch ouer our selues, that wee may not any waies so misbehaue our selues, that thy Gospell, which we professe, may by our meanes be euill spoken of amongst them. Let the feare of thee cause vs to examine all our waies, to bee directed both in our words and deeds by thy will: Let vs take heed, that hauing endured some wants at Sea, and comming now to fresh victuals, wee abuse not thy good creatures, by wasting and consuming them in intemperance in meate and drinke, by

which many before vs haue shortened their daies : neither let vs giue way vnto our fleshly lusts, which besot the wises that take pleasure in them : But grant vs the sober vse of thy good blessings, with thanksguiuing vnto thee that art the only giuer of them. Giue vs grace daily to call vpon thee in whom onely wee trust, and let vs striue to liue in love and peace together, forbearing and forgiuing one another. if any occasions of quarrell and discord arise amongst vs. Make vs true and trustie vnto those that haue employed vs hither and haue prouided carefully for the supply of our wants, and haue put vs in trust with the managing of their businesse : And let our whole cariage and conuersation both toward them, and toward our selues, and toward the Heathen, (while we liue among them) be such, as may relish of true Christianitie and godlinesse, as may win vs favour in this peoples eyes, and may giue satisfaction at our returne home (if it please thee to deale so mercifully with vs) both to the Aduenturers that sent vs forth, and more specially to our owne consciencies, that in all our actions we haue set thy feare before our eyes, and depended vpon thy blessing on our honest endeauours. Let us not be ouertaken with the sins of couetousnes or pride ; but both detest all filthie lucre, knowing it cannot profit vs to win all the world and lose our owne soules : and that the more blessings thou bestowest vpon vs, the more humble hearted wee ought to be, and so to carrie ourselues. Let vs striue by all meanes to win and draw these Heathen to faith in thy name, so as wee may giue no scandall vnto our profession. And teach vs so to acknowledge thy goodness and mercie toward vs, that wee may euer be readie to publish and declare it vnto others, and depending still vpon thee (not for any merits of ours, but for thy Sonne our Sauour Iesus Christ his sake) may ascribe vnto thee all honour, praise, and glorie for euer and euer. Amen.

No. III. p. 534.

Chaplains in India prior to the Union of the two
Companies.

13th Dec., 1667.	Mr. Walter Hooke, elected Chaplain for Fort St. George.		
3rd Jan., 1668.	Mr. William Thomson,	do.	do.
14th May, 1669.	Mr. Nathaniel Briggs,	do.	Bantam.
29th Oct., "	Mr. William Richards,	do.	India.
" "	Mr. Martin,	do.	do.
19th Nov., "	Mr. Thomas Bill,	do.	do.
23rd Feb., 1671.	Mr. John France,	do.	Surat.
1st March, "	Mr. Joseph Farnworth,	do.	Bombay.
9th Dec., 1672.	Mr. Robert Lloyd,	do.	do.
10th Sept., 1675.	Mr. Richard Portman,	do.	Bengal.
29th Dec., "	Mr. Thomas Copping,	do.	Bantam.
" "	Mr. Wynn,	do.	St. Helena,
22nd Dec., 1676.	Mr. William Badgent,	do.	Bengal.
30th Oct., 1678.	{ Mr. Joshua Richardson, } declined the office,	do.	Surat.
12th March, 1679.	Mr. Isaac Polewheele,	do.	Bombay.
26th May, 1693.	Mr. Thomas Tyrer,	do.	do.
	accompanied the Governor, Sir John Gayer.		
15th Dec., 1693.	Mr. John Ovington, elected Chaplain for		Surat.
31st Dec., 1697.	Mr. James Wendy,	do.	Fort St. George.
21st Jan., 1698.	Mr. John Powell,	do.	India,
	but upon a representation from the Bishop of London, who had ascertained that Mr. P. had been turned out of his Benefice, in the Diocese of Norwich, directions were given for his being sent ashore.		
7th March, 1698.	Mr. Thorold,	elected Chaplain for	Surat.
30th Nov., "	Mr. Humphreys,	do.	St. Helena.
22nd Nov., 1699.	Mr. Benjamin Adams,	do.	Bengal.
13th Dec., 1700.	Mr. Epiphanius Holland,	do.	St. Helena.

No. IV. p. 630, note.

Charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
in Foreign Parts.

WILLIAM the Third, by the Grace of God, of England,
Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the

Faith, &c. To all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting,

Whereas Wee are credibly informed, That in many of Our Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, belonging to Our Kingdom of England, the Provision for Ministers is very mean; and many others of our said Plantations, Colonies and Factories, are wholly destitute and unprovided of a Mainteynance for Ministers and the Publick Worshipp of God; and for Lack of Support and Mainteynance for such, many of our Loveing Subjects doe want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity; and alsoe for Want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loveing Subjects in the Principles of True Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over Our said Loveing Subjects to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

And whereas Wee think it Our Duty, as much as in Us lyes, to promote the Glory of God, by the Instruccion of Our People in the Christian Religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a sufficient Mainteynance be provided for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and that such other Provision be made, as may be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospell in those Parts.

And whereas Wee have been well assured, That if Wee would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a Corporation for the receiving, manageing, and disposing of the Charity of Our loveing Subjects, divers Persons would be Induced to extend their Charity to the Uses and Purposes aforesaid.

Know yee therefore, That Wee have for the Consideracons aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said Charitable Purposes, of Our speciall Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Mocon, Willed, Ordained, Consti-

tuted and Appointed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, Doe Will, Ordaine, Constitute, Declare and Grant, That the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas Lord Archbishopp of Canterbury, and John Lord Archbishopp of Yorke; the Right Reverend Fathers in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, William Lord Bishop of Worcester, Our Lord Almoner, Simon Lord Bishop of Ely, Thomas Lord Bishop of Rochester, Deane of Westminster; and the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner and Deane of Westminster for the Time being; Edward Lord Bishop of Gloucester, John Lord Bishop of Chichester, Nicholas Lord Bishop of Chester, Richard Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Humphry Lord Bishop of Bangor, John Mountague Doctor of Divinity, Clerke of our Closett, William Sherlock, Doctor of Divinity, Deane of St. Paules, William Stanley, Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of London, and the Clerke of the Closett, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, the Dean of St. Pauls and Archdeacon of London for the Time being; The two Regius and two Margaret Professors of both Our Universities, for the Time being; Thomas, Earl of Thannet, Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, Francis Lord Guilford, William Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Cookes of Bentley, Sir Richard Bulkley, Sir John Philipps, and Sir Arthur Owen, Baronets; Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Sir William Prichard, Sir William Russell, Sir Edmund Turner, Sir William Hustler, Sir John Chardin, and Sir Richard Blackmore, Knights; John Hook Esq; Serjeant at Law, George Hooper Doctor of Divinity, Deane of Canterbury, George Booth Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Durham, Sir George Wheeler Prebendary of Durham, William Beveridge Doctor of Divinity, Archdeacon of Colchester, Sir William Dawes Baronett; Thomas Maningham, Edward Gee, Thomas Lynford, Nathaniel Resbury, Offspring Black-

hall, George Stanhope, William Heyley, and Richard Willis, Doctors of Divinity, and our Chaplaines in Ordinary; John Mapletoft, Zacheus Isham, John Davies, William Lancaster, Humphrey Hodey, Richard Lucas, John Evans, Thomas Bray, John Gascorth, White Kennett, Lilly Butler, Josiah Woodward, Doctors in Divinity; Gideon Harvey and Frederick Slare, Doctors of Phisick; Rowland Cotton, Thomas Jervois, Maynard Colchester, James Vernon Junr, Joseph Neale, Grey Nevill, Thomas Clerk, Peter King, ——— Rock, John Comins, William Melmoth, Thomas Bromfeild, John Raynolds, Dutton Seaman, Whitlock Bulstrode, Samuel Brewster, John Chamberlaine, Richard King, and Daniel Nicoll, Esquires; Benjamin Lawdell, John Trimmer, Charles Toriano, and John Hodges, Merchants; William Fleetwood, William Whitefeild, and Samuel Bradford, Masters of Arts, and Our Chaplaines in Ordinary; Thomas Little, Batchelor in Divinity; Thomas Staino, Henry Altham, William Loyd, Henry Shute, Thomas Frank, and William Mecken, Clerks, and their Successors; to be Elected in Manner as hereafter directed, be, and shall for ever hereafter be, and by Vertue of these Presents, shall be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of, The Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts; And them and their Successors, by the same Name, Wee doe by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, really and fully Make, Ordaine, Constitute and Declare One Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name.

And that by the same Name, they and their Successors shall and may have perpetuall Succession.

And that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be Persons Able and Capable in the Law to Purchase, Have, Take, Receive and Enjoy to them and their Successors, Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Advowsons, Liberties, Privileages, Juris-

dictions, Franchises, and other Hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever Nature, Kind and Quality they be, in Fee and in Perpetuity, not exceeding the Yearly Value of Two Thousand Pounds, beyond Reprizalls; and alsoe Estates for Lives and for Yeares; and all other Manner of Goods, Chattells, and Things whatsoever, of what Name, Nature, Quality, or Value soever they be, for the better Support and Maintenance of an Orthodox Clergy in Forreigne Parts, and other the Uses aforesaid: And to Give, Grant, Let, and Demise, the said Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattells, and things whatsoever aforesaid, by Lease or Leases, for Terme of Yeares, in Possession at the Time of Granting thereof, and not in Reversion, not exceeding the Terme of One and thirty Yeares from the time of Granting thereof; on which, in Case noe Fine be taken, shall be Reserved the Full Value; and in Case a Fine be taken, shall be Reserved at least a Moyety of the full Value, that the same shall reasonably and *Bona fide* be worth at the time of such Demise.

And that by the Name aforesaid, they shall, and may be able to Plead and be Impleaded, Answer and be Answered unto, Defend and be Defended, in all Courts and Places whatsoever, and before whatsoever Judges, Justices, or other Officers, of Us, Our Heires and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Plaints, Pleas, Matters and Demands, of what Kind, Nature, or Quality soever they be: And to act and doe all other Matters and Things, in as ample Manner and Forme as any other Our Liege Subjects of this Our Realme of England, being Persons able and capable in the Law, or any other Body Corporate or Politique within this Our Realme of England, can, or may have, purchase, receive, possesse, take, enjoy, grant, sett, let, demise, plead and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend and be defended, doe permitt, and execute.

And that the said Society for ever hereafter, shall and may have a Common Seale, to serve for the Cause and Businesse of them and their Successors: And that it shall and may be lawfull for them and their Successors to change, break, alter, and make New the said Seale from Time to Time, and at their Pleasure, as they shall think best.

And for the better Execucon of the purposes aforesaid, Wee doe give and grant to the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors for ever, shall, upon the third Friday in February, Yearely, meet at some convenient Place, to be appointed by the said Society, or the major Part of them, who shall be present at any Generall Meeting, betweene the Houres of Eight and Twelve in the Morning; and that they, or the major Part of such of them that shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-president or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as shall be thought convenient to serve in the said Offices for the Yeare ensuing: And that the said President and Vice-presidents, and all Officers then elected, shall, before they act in their respective Offices, take an Oath, to be to them Administred by the President, or in his Absence by one of the Vice-presidents of the Yeare preceeding, who are hereby authorized to administer the same, for the faithfull and due Execucon of their respective Offices and Places dureing the said Yeare.

That Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the first President of the said Society, shall be Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England: And that the said President shall, within Thirty Dayes after the passing of this Charter, cause Summons to be issued to the severall Members of the said Society herein particularly Menconed, to meet at such

Time and Place as he shall appoint: And that they, or the major Part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the Eleccion of one or more Vice-president, or Vice-presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants, as to them shall seem meet; which said Officers, from the Time of their Eleccion into their respective Offices, shall continue therein until the Third Friday in February, which shall be in the Yeare of Our Lord, One Thousand Seaven Hundred and One, and from thenceforwards untill others shall be chosen into their Places in manner aforesaid.

And that if it shall happen, that any of the Persons at any Time chosen into any of the said Offices shall dye, or on any Account be removed from such Office at any Time between the said yearly Dayes of Eleccion, that in such Case it shall be lawfull for the surviving and continueing President, or any one of the Vice-presidents, to issue Summons to the severall Members of the Body Corporate, to meet at the usuall Place of the Annuall Meeting of the said Society, at such Time as shall be specified in the said Summons; and that such Members of the said Body Corporate, who shall meet upon such Summons, or the major Part of them, shall and may choose an Officer or Officers into the Roome or Place of such Person or Persons, soe dead or removed, as to them shall seem meet.

And Wee do further Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they and their Successors shall and may, on the third Friday in every Month, yearly, for ever hereafter, and oftner, if Occasion require, meet at some convenient Place to be appointed for that Purpose, to transact the Businesse of the said Society, and shall and may at any Meeting, on such third Friday in the Month, Elect such Persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they, or

the major Part of them then present, shall think beneficial to the Charitable Designes of the said Corporation.

And Our Will and Pleasure is, That no Act done in any Assembly of the said Society, shall be effectuell and Valid, unless the President or some one of the Vice-presidents, and Seaven other Members of the said Company at the least, be present, and the major Part of them consenting thereunto.

And Wee further Will, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors, doe Ordaine and Grant unto the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, That they, and their Successors, or the major Part of them who shall be present at the first and second Meeting of the said Society, or at any Meeting on the Third Friday in the Months of November, February, May, and August, yearely for ever, and at noe other Meetings of the said Society, shall, and may Consult, Determine, Constitute, Ordaine, and Make any Constitucons, Lawes, Ordinances and Statutes whatsoever; as also to execute Leases for Yeares, as aforesaid, which to them, or the major Part of them then present, shall seem reasonable, profitable, or requisite for, touching or concerning the Good Estate, Rule, Order and Government of the said Corporation, and the more effectuell promoteing the said Charitable Designes: All which Lawes, Ordinances and Constitucons, soe to be made, ordained and established, as aforesaid, Wee Will, Command and Ordaine, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, to be from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, kept and performed in all Things, as the same ought to be, on the Penalties and Amercements in the same to be imposed and limited, soe as the same Lawes, Constitucons, Ordinances, Penalties and Amercements, be reasonable, and not repugnant or contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realme of England.

And Wee doe likewise Grant unto the said Society for

the Propagation of the Gospell in Forreigne Parts, and their Successors, that they and their Successors, or the major Part of such of them as shall be present at any Meeting of the said Society, shall have Power from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter, to depute such Persons as they shall think fitt to take Subscriptions, and to gather and collect such Moneys as shall be by any Person or Persons contributed for the Purposes aforesaid.

And shall and may remove and displace such Deputyes as often as they shall see Cause soe to doe, and to cause publick Notification to be made of this Charter, and the Powers thereby granted, in such Manner as they shall think most conduceable to the Furtherance of the said Charity.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the said Society shall Yearely, and every Yeare, give an Account in Writing to Our Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England for the Time being, the Lord Cheife Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Cheife Justice of the Common Pleas, or any two of them, of the several Summe or Summes of Money by them received and laid out by vertue of these Presents, or any Authority hereby given, and of the Management and Disposicon of the Revenues and Charityes aforesaid.

And lastly, Our Pleasure is, That these Our Letters Patents, or the Inrollment thereof, shall be good, firme, valid, and effectuell in the Law, according to Our Royall Intentions herein before declared. In Witnes whereof, Wee have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents. Witnes Our Selfe at Westminster, the Sixteenth Day of June, in the Thirteenth Yeare of Our Reigne.

Per. Breve de Privato Sigillo,

Cocks.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROPAGATION OF THE
GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.



WHAT the SOCIETY establish'd in England by ROYAL CHARTER hath done since their Incorporation, June the 16th, 1701, in Her Majesty's Plantations, Colonies, and Factories: As also what they design to do upon further encouragement from their own Members and other well disposed Christians, either by Annual Subscriptions, present Benefactions, or future Legacies.

THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, as it is an affair of the highest importance to mankind, and therefore first given in charge to His apostles by the

Son of God, when He commanded them to "Go, teach, and baptize all nations, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" so hath it been the chief

care of Apostolical men in all ages downwards, to execute that commission for the good of souls, and the honour of their Blessed Redeemer.

How the primitive preachers of it succeeded in the discharge of their great trust in the earlier days of Christianity, we have a glorious account in the sacred writings, where we find that whilst they were acted by "*one and the same Spirit*," the power of the Gospel was wonderfully advanced by them; 'twas no sooner risen, but like the sun, its emblem, it shone forth even upon the remotest parts of the then known world, "*giving light to them which sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death*." But when we observe in after-times the frequent eclipses it underwent, and the strange declensions it suffer'd thro' the corruptions and dissension of those that succeeded in the later ages, 'twould afford matter for very melancholy reflections, should we too nicely enquire how our most holy religion, which in fifty days after the Resurrection of our Lord, was proclaimed at Jerusalem to men of all the nations, and in all the languages under Heaven; doth now at more than fifteen hundred years distance, thro' the prevailing influences of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Paganism, bear no larger a proportion to those other professions than that of V. to XXV. no more than which is allow'd it by the most accurate computation in its utmost latitude, as it comprehends the Eastern, the Latin, and the Protestant Communions at this day.

To recover the ground lost, and for the better promoting the great ends of Providence, in reducing all denominations to one fold, whether Jews or Gentiles, there have been many and zealous attempts for the conversion of Infidels in these last times.

The Church of Rome, whose emissaries compass sea and land to gain proselytes, boasts much of her Spanish, Portuguese, French, and several other missions, by which it must be confess'd, that the name and profession of Christianity hath indeed been enlarged, but mixed with such gross corruptions as very eminent persons amongst themselves have deservedly complain'd of, whilst the Reformed Churches of Holland, Sweden, Denmark, &c. have done more, though with less pomp, and under far less happy opportunities.

England we must confess hath been too much wanting to her self in this great concern, from whom more might have been expected, as enjoying more of the special favours of

God, under a clearer light of the Gospel than many other nations; but the concurrence of many unhappy circumstances under which we have long labour'd, hath obstructed the willing endeavours of many able and pious persons, who would often and heartily have come into this Evangelical work; but this noble design seem'd, by the special providence of God, to be reserved for so favourable a season, when many other pious and charitable works are carrying on in this kingdom.

'Twas during the reign of King William III. that this glorious design for advancing the kingdom of the Blessed Jesus was first effectually set on foot, who was no sooner inform'd by some whose hearts God had stirr'd up for this extraordinary undertaking, **That in many of our Plantations, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas, the Provision for Ministers was very mean; and many others of our Plantations, Colonies and Factories were wholly destitute and unprovided of a Maintenance for Ministers and the Publick Worship of God; and that for lack of Support and Maintenance for such, many wanted the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem'd to be abandon'd to Atheism and Infidelity; and also that for want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct others of His Subjects in the Principles of true Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits were the more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to Popish Superstition and Idolatry,** but he immediately erected a Society or Corporation, consisting of many eminent personages in Church and State, as well as of a considerable number of others of almost all ranks and professions, to carry on so glorious a design; at the head of whom appear our Metropolitans of both provinces, the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Lord Archbishop of York, with the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, to whose jurisdiction the most of those places do belong.

The Society thus constituted, after adjusting preliminaries, as the choice of Officers, such were the President, Vice-President, Treasurers, Auditors, Secretary, &c. appointment of Deputies in the Counties to take Subscriptions, settling of By-laws and Orders for their more regular proceeding in a matter of such consequence; and admission of New-Members, (as they were empowered by the Charter to call in such to their assistance from time to time, who might appear useful men,) applied

it self diligently to the great work in hand, which had soon met with a fatal period by the lamented decease of its founder, had not the good providence of God bless'd us with an equal successor to the important affairs of religion as well as state, our gracious QUEEN ANNE, who, upon an Address for her protection from the whole body of the Corporation, was pleas'd, in the most favourable manner, to express her self thus.

I SHALL BE ALWAYS READY TO DO MY PART TOWARDS PROMOTING AND ENCOURAGING SO GOOD A WORK.

The Society being thus encouraged by the assurances of Her Majesty's royal favour, (who had beforehand declared her approbation of what they are now doing, by her princely munificence, when the affair was in private hands only;) the work has gone on ever since, by God's blessing, with greater success than could reasonably be expected; Correspondencies are begun abroad, Deputations settling at home, many Subscriptions made,

several Benefactions brought in, and several prudent ways and means taken for the conversion of Indians, and settling the state of religion in Her Majesty's Foreign Dominions; by supplying with able and good Ministers the natives as well as English; appointing Catechists and Schoolmasters for the same; with other ignorant persons; and sending over select Libraries for the improvement of the Clergy, as well as practical treatises for the edification of the laity.

And at the same time, it has pleas'd God to raise up a spirit of zeal in many of the Plantations for promoting this great and good work.

What has been done as to the several particulars mentioned, appears from the lists annex'd, extracted from the journals, memoirs, and letters of the Society; whence may be easily gather'd how the Society has endeavour'd to answer the great trust reposed in them to the satisfaction of unprejudic'd persons.

All the ENGLISH DOMINIONS on the Continent of NORTH AMERICA, from N.E. to S.W. with the INDIAN NATIONS bordering upon them.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
<p>The Five Nations of IROQUOIS, commonly call'd, The Praying Indians of Canada.</p>	<p>They have been converted to some sort of profession of Christianity by the French Jesuits chiefly, and the care of the governments of New-England and New-York; but earnestly desire further instruction from us; which if timely granted, they would be our defence as well as glory; being the constant barrier between New-York, Virginia, Maryland, and the French, and have more than once fought four battles; if not they'll probably espouse the French and Popish interest, against that of England and the Reformed Religion.</p>	<p>To Mr. Thoroughgood Moor 100<i>l.</i> per annum. To Mr. 100<i>l.</i> per annum. Besides which they are allowed 20<i>l.</i> towards furnishing their houses, and 15<i>l.</i> each as a supply for their libraries, &c.</p>	<p>For the Mohocks. For the Onydes. 1 For the Onontages. 1 For the Cayouges. 1 For the Sinnekes, or Sionnontowans. 1 For the River Indians at Shackook, a little above Albany.</p>
<p>NEW ENGLAND, or MASSACHUSETTS, with its neighbouring Colonies. Province of <i>Mayne, or Piscataway;</i> <i>N. Hampshire;</i> <i>Plymouth;</i> <i>Naraganset, or King's Coun.</i> <i>Connecticut;</i></p>	<p>In all these provinces eastward of New-York, there is no Church of England congregation; neither in Connecticut, Naraganset, Plimouth, New-Hampshire, nor that of Mayne, except at Boston, where there is a large one, having two Ministers, Mr. Miles and Mr. Bridge; and at Braintree, where a Minister is lately sent by the Lord Bishop of London.</p>	<p>To a Minister in the Isle of Shoales, who was upon the spot, 20<i>l.</i> for one year.</p>	<p>1 Minister for the people of N. Hampshire: they'll do their best to maintain him. 1 Minister for Swanzy. 1 Minister for Little Compton, <i>alias</i> Seconet. 1 Minister for Tiverton. 1 Minister for Naraganset: they'll subscribe 50<i>l.</i> per annum.</p>
<p>NEW YORK, FIVE ENGLISH COUNTRIES. <i>New York,</i> <i>West-Chester,</i> <i>Richmond,</i> <i>Queen's,</i> <i>Suffolk.</i> FIVE DUTCH COUNTRIES. <i>Albany,</i> <i>Ulster,</i> <i>Dutch,</i> <i>Orange,</i> <i>King's.</i></p>	<p>The Protestant religion is settled here by Act of Assembly, as establish'd in England, except in Suffolk County. There is provision for one Minister in the city and county of New-York, at 100<i>l.</i> per annum. In Queen's County on Nassaw Island, 120<i>l.</i> for two between them. 40<i>l.</i> for one in the county of Richmond. In West-Chester a maintenance for two at 50<i>l.</i> each; besides, Her Majesty allows 130<i>l.</i> per annum for the Chaplain of the Forces: no Schoolmasters yet established, but expected suddenly so to be in the Dutch as well as English counties.</p>	<p>To Mr. John Bartow at West-Chester, 50<i>l.</i> per annum, and a benevolence of 30<i>l.</i> To Mr. Elias Neau, catechist at New-York, 50<i>l.</i> per annum. To Mr. Alexander Stuart at Bedford, 50<i>l.</i> per annum, with 20<i>l.</i> and 15<i>l.</i> for books. To Mr. Patrick Gordon, Rector of Queen's County, 50<i>l.</i> per annum; since deceased.</p>	<p>1 Minister for Richmond; to whom they'll allow 40<i>l.</i> per annum. 1 Minister for Staten Island. 1 Minister for Rye; who'll be provided for there at 50<i>l.</i> per annum. 1 Schoolmaster for New-York. 1 Schoolmaster for Albany. 1 Minister for Ulster.</p>

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MI-NISTERS, SCHOOLS & BARRIES.
<p>NEW JERSEY,</p> <p>EAST,</p> <p>WEST,</p>	<p>Here is no Church nor School establish'd by Act of Assembly, either in the eight English towns, or two Dutch: but a considerable number of people that were Quakers, &c. are in a good disposition to join in communion with the Church of England ministry.</p>		<p>1 Minister at Falls in Shrewsbury, where C. Morris is building a Church, and will endow it.</p> <p>1 At Amboy, where they are building another Church.</p> <p>1 At Hopewell, where they are building another.</p> <p>1 In Monmouth County.</p> <p>1 For St. Mary's at Burlingtown, with some utensils for the Church.</p> <p>1 For Crosswicks.</p>
<p>PENNSYLVANIA,</p>	<p>Is settled by the people of almost all languages and religions in Europe: but the people called Quakers are the most numerous of any persuasion; and in Philadelphia, the capital city there, is an Episcopal Church, having a very large congregation, supplied by Mr. Evans and Mr. Thomas his assistant, who, besides the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants, have a grant from Her Majesty lately of 50<i>l.</i> per annum for the Minister, and about 30<i>l.</i> for the Schoolmaster. There is likewise here a Quaker's meeting, a Presbyterian one, an Independent one, an Anabaptist one, and a Sweedish one without the town.</p>	<p>To Mr. Nichols at St. Paul's in Up-lands, 50<i>l.</i> per annum, and 15<i>l.</i> in books.</p> <p>To the Church of St. Paul's at Up-lands, a large Bible.</p> <p>To the Welch congregation, a Welch Bible and Common-Prayer-book.</p> <p>To a patent for a Minister and School-master, 32<i>l.</i> 6<i>s.</i> 8<i>d.</i> at Philadelphia.</p> <p>To Mr. Tho. Crawford at Dover-Hundred 50<i>l.</i> per annum, and 15<i>l.</i> for books.</p>	<p>1 Minister at Chet-ter, with a de-pendent School.</p> <p>1 Minister at New-Castle, who will do great service.</p> <p>1 Minister at the Falls, 30 miles above Philadel-phia, where a Church is building.</p> <p>1 Minister at Frank-fort.</p>
<p>MARYLAND,</p>	<p>The eleven counties were divided into thirty parishes, by an Act of Assembly, 1692, besides which here are several Chapels: Popish priests and Quakers equally obstruct a good progress. Sixteen Ministers have a competent main-tenance, their glebes settled, and libraries fixed, and many thousand practical and devo-tional books have been dis-persed among the people with good effect, by the assiduous and pious care of the Re-verend Dr. Bray, from whom a further account may shortly be expected.</p>	<p>To Mr. George Macqueen 6<i>l.</i> in money, 4<i>l.</i> in Books.</p>	<p>About 14 Churches unprovided.</p> <p>Many Schools wanted.</p>

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
VIRGINIA,	Divided into fifty parishes, with about thirty Chapels. Here is also a noble College erected for the education of the American youth in the studies of philosophy and divinity. Maintenance for Ministers settled by Act of Assembly, but by disease impair'd in many places.	To Mr. Tyliard 20. To Mr. Prichard 15 <i>l.</i> for books.	Several Parishes not supplied with Ministers.
CAROLINA, NORTH, SOUTH,	Here are about five thousand souls scatter'd like sheep without a shepherd, till a Minister was sent lately to Pamphlico. This county is not divided into parishes; however, there is a Church at Charles-Town, Mr. Marston Minister, and another is building.	To Mr. Samuel Thomas at Goosecreek 50 <i>l.</i> per annum for three years, besides 47 <i>l.</i> at times.	1 Minister for Roanook who will be allow'd 60 <i>l.</i> per annum. 1 School. 2 Ministers wanting. 2 Schools. Some Bibles and Common-Prayer Books for the Negroes at Goosecreek.
THE YAMMONSEA INDIANS,	Mr. Samuel Thomas was sent to instruct these Indians in the Christian Religion; but finding it an improper season: his mission is respited for some time.	To Mr. Trott by the hand of Mr. Samuel Thomas 10 <i>l.</i> for stuffs, by way of present to the Indians.	

N.B.—There are earnest Addresses from divers parts of the Continent, and Islands adjacent, for a SUFFRAGAN to visit the several Churches; ordain some, confirm others, and bless all.

The Reverend Mr. George Keith and Mr. John Talbot his assistant, are Itinerant Missionaries, with an honourable allowance suitable to so expensive an undertaking.

Some AMERICAN ISLANDS under the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT with TWO ENGLISH FACTORIES in EUROPE.

NEWFOUNDLAND,	Has several settlements of English, with many occasional inhabitants; as workers, mariners, &c. at the fishing seasons, to the amount of several thousands: but no publick exercise of religion except at St. John's, where there is a congregation, but unable to subsist a Minister.	To Mr. Jackson 50 <i>l.</i> per annum for three years, besides a benefaction of 30 <i>l.</i>	
RODE-ISLAND, belonging to New-York,	All under Quaker government, except one congregation of Mr. Lockyer's, who is maintained partly by a contribution from England, and partly by the people of Newport.	To the Minister and Church Wardens of Newport, 15 <i>l.</i> for communion-plate, pulpit-cloth, &c.	1 Minister for Portsmouth. 1 Schoolmaster.

THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
LONG-ISLAND, belonging to <i>New-England</i> ,	Here are many Dutch, who have several congregations; some Independents, a few Quakers, many of the inhabitants of no religion at all.	To Mr. William Urquhart, maintained by the subscription of the Yorkshire Clergy at Jamaica, 50 <i>l.</i> per annum, and 15 <i>l.</i> for books.	1 Minister for Oyster-Bay. 1 Minister for Hempstead who will be allow'd 60 <i>l.</i> per annum there.
JAMAICA,	Here were fifteen parish Churches: one of which, Port-Royal, was burnt down January 2, 1702, and not retrievable; being annex'd to King's Town by a late Act of the Country which prohibits any market for the future at Port-Royal.	To Mr. Philip Bennet, Commissary there, 5 <i>l.</i> for books, &c.	
ANTEGOA,	The English here residing have five parish Churches, which are of the Church of England.	To Mr. Gifford and other Ministers 20 <i>l.</i>	
MONTSERRAT,	Has two parishes of the Church of England likewise.	To Mr. Arbuthnot 20 <i>l.</i> for books.	

FACTORIES in EUROPE.

MOSCOW,	Here is a factory of English merchants, as at Arch-Angel, where they reside alternately; to whom the Czar has been graciously pleased to give lately as much ground as they shall desire to build a Church upon, with other conveniences for the Minister, &c. who uses the Liturgy of the Church of England, and who is desired to insert the Czar's name and his sons in the Litany and Prayers for the Royal Family.	To Mr. Urmston, a benefaction of Greek Liturgies and Testaments for the courtiers; of vulgar Greek Testaments for the common Muscovites; and of English practical books for the youth and servants of the factory, &c.	
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THEIR NAMES.	PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.	ASSISTANCE RECEIVED FROM THE SOCIETY.	DEMANDS UPON THE SOCIETY FOR MINISTERS, SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES.
AMSTERDAM,	For the interest of the English nation, the honour of its Establish'd Church, and comfort of its members residing here in peace and war, as gentlemen, merchants, soldiers, seamen, &c. The Burgomasters have given a piece of ground for building an English Church: till that can be compass'd, a private Chapel is made use of, where there is a pretty good Church of England congregation.	To Dr. Cockburn, 50 <i>l.</i> per annum for two years.	
N.B.—Some Common-Prayer-Books in 8vo. with other Devotional and Practical Books, are very much desired by the people, both in the Islands and on the Continent.			

From the foregoing View, may be observed,

- I. What the Society has already done towards the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
- II. What they have before them to do still in that important business.
- III. What encouragements they hope for to enable them to go through so great a work.

I. **WHAT** the Society hath already done towards the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, since the date of their Charter, June 16, 1701.

1. That they might answer the main end of their Incorporation, they have actually commission'd two Missionaries at a very great expence, and are soliciting maintenance from the Crown for four more, who are at least wanting, for the conversion of the Praying Indians of Canada, whose souls we must be accountable for, if we neglect longer to instruct them in the faith of our blessed Redeemer, when God has so wonderfully open'd their eyes, their hearts, and their very tongues, so as to call to us, as those of Macedonia did to the apostles of the Gentiles, "*Come over and help us.*" To which purpose, so remark-

able are the words of one of their Sachems or Kings, in the name of the rest, in which they sensibly express their concern for such a Mission, to the Commissioners for the Indian affairs in Albany, June 28, 1700, as appears by an original extract of the Earl of Bellamont's to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, October 25, 1700, that they highly challenge a place in this account, to the exceeding comfort of all such good Christians as hope that their redemption draws near. "We are now come to trade," saith he, "and not to speak of religion, only thus much "I must say, all the while I was here before "I went to Canada, I never heard any thing "talk'd of religion, or the least mention made "of converting us to the Christian faith; and "we shall be glad to hear if at last you are so "piously inclined to take some pains to in-

"struct your Indians in the Christian religion; "I will not say but it may induce some to "return to their native country. I wish it "had been done sooner, that you had had "Ministers to instruct your Indians in the "Christian faith, I doubt whether any of us "had deserted our native country: but I "must say, I am solely beholden to the "French of Canada, for the light I received "to know there was a Saviour born for man- "kind; and now we are taught God is every "where, and we can be instructed at Canada, "Dowaganae, or the uttermost parts of the "earth, as well as here."

And in a later conference with the Lord Cornbury, those five Sachems or Kings of the Iroquois, promised him at Albany, "obedi- "ence to the faith of Christ," told him, they were "glad to hear the sun shined in England since King William's death;" admired at first that we should have a "Squa Sachem;" viz. a woman king, but they "hoped She "would be a good mother, and send them "some to teach them religion, as well as "traffick;" then sent some of their country presents to Her Majesty, signed the treaty, and "made the covenant so sure, that thunder and lightning should not break it on their parts."

Nor has the Society turned their thoughts only on the Indians in the northern parts of the English dominions, but have sent also one Missionary for the service of the Ycomansee Indians to the south of Carolina, who having been lately engaged in a war with the Spaniards, and every day in danger of an invasion from them, were not in a condition to receive instruction, nor was it thought fit by the Governours to trust him yet amongst them, but as soon as 'tis practicable to treat with them, there are assurances he shall leave the neighbour- hood, where he is instructing many souls as much neglected as the former, the Negroes of Goos creek.

2. The Society has not only had a regard to Infidels, but, as becometh Christians, has taken care of its own country-men, in sending Ministers with good allowances to the several parts along the continent of North America, where they were most wanted, and the harvest is ripe for such labourers, who will faithfully resist and oppose the progress of Atheism, Infidelity, Quakerism, Antinomianism, ignorance, and immorality, which have hitherto fatally overspread those infant Churches.

3. They have made suitable provision also for some of the islands, those too much neglected of Her Majesty's territories, by a supply of two Ministers, without any charge to the people, and have otherwise sup-

ported eight more in the islands, and on the continent in such manner as has been requested.

4. That the Factories mention'd in the Charter might not be altogether insensible to its concern for them, there has been a Settlement compass'd for a congregation at Amsterdam, with the consent of the Magistrate of the place; and since encouragement given to the promising beginnings of a Church at Moscow, of which the Czar himself has laid the foundation by bestowing as much ground as shall be desired for that use upon the English merchants.

All this the Society hath done upon the bare Annual Fund of about 800*l.* per ann. with the accession of only 1700*l.* occasionally subscribed: the amounts of which together do hardly answer the demands of the poor Missionaries and Ministers, &c. abroad: yet the incidental charges of the Corporation at home: therefore,

II. What the Society has still before it to do in this important business, calls for more than ordinary Benefactions from without, whilst the yearly Subscriptions of the incorporated Members falls short of 1000*l.* per ann. and that voluntary too. A great bottom, upon which to begin the conversion of the Indians mention'd, to build their own most holy faith, and to provide Preachers, Catechists, Schoolmasters, Librarians, Churches, &c. for a continent well peopled under several Governments 1200 miles length upon the sea-coast, as well as for the islands of Newfoundland, Bermudas, Jamaica, the Bahama, and Caribbees; in some of which there is yet no provision of Ministers, or of any support for them, and in all the others much fewer than the publick service of God, and the instruction of the people usually require: which prospect, should be enlarg'd by a view of the future care to be had of the remaining Factories in all places to which we trade in Asia, Africa, and Europe it self, where they live as if without God in the world, to the great reproach of the Christian religion, except at Hamborough, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, Con- stantinople, Fort St. George, Surat, &c. which are well supplied by our worthy Merchants, who trade or live there; what an invitation is hereby given to the liberality of all well- disposed Christians to whom God has given more than a competency, with the assistance of the blessing of hearts graciously disposed to employ the surplussage to His honour and glory?

Since then this great work of main- taining the Christian religion and propagating it

